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NOTES AND NEWS.

WEDNESDAY, the 2nd of June, saw the inauguration of the new Arts Library of the University of Manchester, at an assembly in the Whitworth Hall. MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY'S NEW ARTS LIBRARY.

The assembly was presided over by the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who was supported by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor J. S. B. Stopford.

Lord Crawford, before inviting Sir Walter Moberly to declare the new library open, said : " We are assembled in order that the ceremony of opening the new arts library may be performed by our honoured friend and colleague, Sir Walter Moberly, and it is fitting that this task should be entrusted to him, as it was under his ægis as Vice-Chancellor that the new layout of the University was inaugurated, and that this, the new arts library, the firstfruits of that great scheme, should be opened to-day under his personal guidance, direction and encouragement. It is because we feel we owe so much to his long vision and wise counsel that we have persuaded him to come here to-day, leaving for a moment his exalted and unenviable position elsewhere in order that we may again greet him and thank him for his great services to our University."

Sir Walter Moberly said : " The Chancellor has referred to my present exalted but unenviable position. I am unfortunately now a dweller in *partibus infidelium*—I should like to say a missionary,—and I do find that in those outlandish regions there is still some misunderstanding of the character of the city of Manchester and of the University of Manchester.

" That misunderstanding goes back for a considerable time and has respectable representatives. The first Principal of Owens

College, when eighty-six years ago the college was started, in his inaugural address said that he was stimulated by reflecting upon the prodigious antagonistic forces in this metropolis of the world's industrial activity to the serene attractions of the intellectual life. Principal Scott was himself a newcomer to Manchester at that time. He might have spoken differently after he had been principal for some years, because Manchester after all is not only a centre or metropolis of the world's industrial activity: it is the city of the Hallé Orchestra and the Rylands Library, and not only can we of the University look back with pride to names like those of Roscoe and Schorlemmer, Schuster, Lamb, and Rutherford, but also Manchester is the university of Adolphus Ward, Wilkins, Tout, and Alexander, and it has a great record in the humanities as well as in the sciences.

"It is with particular regard to that record that the erection of the new arts library marks a definite stage in the University's progress. The genius of this place is above all things hostile to the conventions of a complimentary occasion, and I think it is appropriate to ask, as I am constantly having to ask, what is the real meaning of even an additional new and beautiful building? What is the real meaning and value of the opening of a new library?

"Throughout the university world in Great Britain to-day, both among the staffs of universities and among students and student bodies, there is a good deal of asking of questions as to the character of the education which the ordinary student is getting from the university he attends. We all of us know very well what the risks and dangers are—the dangers of attempts at short cuts, the dangers that lectures and text-books, however admirable, will become a substitute for the real thing instead of something that leads students on to the real thing.

"It is that real thing, however you describe it, which, it seems to me, the new library here is really going to help forward in this University. If, instead of excerpts and summaries, however admirable, students can be helped and attracted to read the great classics on their own subjects for themselves, then they are doing an important thing, because in education, university or other, it is when we come into real contact with

minds that are greater than our own that our minds are enlarged and stimulated, and though when we read great books we may presently forget the facts and precise arguments they contain, yet if we read them intelligently we shall not fail to acquire a larger and finer attitude of mind and temper, which are a permanent possession and are part of the great gift which a university can confer upon its students."

Sir Walter referred to "the admirable paper" prepared by Dr. Moses Tyson (the University librarian) on the uses of a university library, and said there were two phrases which he wished to emphasise. "The first," he said, "is when he says that a well-equipped and comfortable library is a place where one adds to one's stock of knowledge by assimilating information through active and not merely passive reading. When we read it is not merely to memorise but in order that our own thinking may be stimulated.

"The other phrase is that the students are to be encouraged to regard the University library as their real home in the University. I do not think we shall quickly exhaust the meaning and importance of that sentence, and that is what the opening of the new library makes possible. If it is to be the home of the students in the University it must be a home which is attractive and in which they can do the work that it is desirable they should do. You want light, air, and dignity. You want access to the shelves, and they must be accessible, not merely by climbing a long and steep ladder for some book that you know is there, but you have to be able to browse, to see for yourselves whether the books have anything that will stimulate you or not; and that is where there is a really immense advance in the opening of this new and spacious and beautiful library, which has the atmosphere of a library and something of the inspiration of a library."

Sir Walter paid a tribute to the University's architects, Sir Percy Worthington and Mr. Hubert Worthington, saying, "We are not afraid of what posterity may say to us." Looking back over the years since he left Manchester, Sir Walter said he felt extremely happy as to the guidance under which the University now was and as to the hopes of the University for the future.

“When I was leaving the University, bearing in mind the Manchester passion for plain speaking and exactness, I said that I would not call Manchester a great university but a great university in the making. I think that in that, making the new arts library represents a new and important step towards making that part of the University a real centre of university education and of making a university in the words of the Church catechism ‘outwardly in its body as well as inwardly in its soul,’ a university really worthy of the Manchester spirit.

“It is therefore with the greatest sincerity and happiness that I now declare that library formally open.”

Sir Percy Worthington, on behalf of Thomas Worthington and Sons, the architects of the building, presented to Sir Walter Moberly the key of the new building. Later, a procession made its way across from the Whitworth Hall to the library, which was formally opened and inspected.

Later in the same afternoon, Founders’ Day was commemorated. Speaking at the opening of the ceremony, the Chancellor, Lord Crawford, said: “The commemoration of our Founders’ Day coincides with the notable ceremony performed this morning by our old friend and colleague, Sir Walter Moberly, who opened the new arts building.

THE COM-
MEMORATION
CEREMONY.

“The Vice-Chancellor has just read to us the recital of past benefactors, recalling to our memories the founders of the University. Remember, however, that our University is a growing organism, and to-day we have assumed responsibility to be refounders of the University. With great courage but also with profound conviction the University has made itself responsible for a public appeal for a sum of money necessary to bring our buildings up to date and to make it possible for us to take our proper place amongst other universities of the country. I say that great courage has been shown in undertaking this work, for the task is onerous and will require the help and collaboration of all if it is to be brought to an early success, and I wish, if I may, to impress upon you that the appeal for our University extension is an appeal made by ourselves to

ourselves, for unlike some other and perhaps more fortunate institutions we cannot rely on the assistance of great charitable trusts and foundations, and so it is upon our own efforts, upon our own patriotism, that we shall have to depend.

“Let us remember that our University is our University just as much as our Cathedral is our Cathedral and our Town Hall is our Town Hall. Let us therefore unite in the patriotism of Lancashire and in the patriotism of learning to carry to a successful issue this great and honourable obligation.”

The occasion was marked by the conferment of honorary degrees upon Mr. Robert McDougall, Sir Percy Malcolm Stewart, Colonel Luxmore Newcombe, and Sir Thomas Beecham.

The four honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor by Professor J. F. Duff, Director of Education, in the following felicitous terms :

Mr. ROBERT MCDUGALL, presented for the degree of Doctor of Laws :

“I present to you, attired in human form and academic vesture, a Fairy Godmother, who from time to time surveys the scene with shrewd, benevolent eyes ; and then, with one wave of the wand the threatened acres of Rothamsted are saved for the plant-breeding research that has made them famous ; another wave, and the untrodden ways beside the springs of the Dove are given to the National Trust to be trodden freely for ever by lovers of rural beauty and followers of Izaak Walton ; yet another wave, and our University finds itself the possessor of gifts of all sizes from a library book-rest to a drill hall. His deeds of beneficence are wide ranging, numerous, and large, but their outstanding quality is their aptness and the perspicacity shown in their choice. This perspicacity has marked his career since his days as a student here, for he attributes his first degree to his discovery that the names of the slides which he had to identify in examination were legible through their attempted obliteration when held up to the light, and, a truer scientist than his examiners, he revealed the truth that they sought to hide.

“As Deputy Treasurer of the University, his favourite task is appropriately the signing of the cheques. . . . He has now

retired from business to a most happy home and a cherished garden from which he will shortly be summoned to visit the King. On that day he will wear the medal of his war service as a special constable, but always will he be found wearing the white flower of a blameless life, self-raising as goodness is bound to be."

Sir PERCY MALCOLM STEWART, presented for the degree of Doctor of Laws :

" I present to you a liberal industrialist who believes that the location of industry must be controlled in the public interests, and a Londoner who regards the growth of London as an economic, strategic, and hygienic menace. As Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales, he told in his reports, addressed to the Government but eagerly read and approved by all social economists, what had befallen those large and populous tracts of our own country, whence great wealth had been drawn for a century or more, but which industry had now abandoned, leaving the men who had produced that wealth to waste their skill amid rusting machinery and their lives in decaying homes. Though no part of Lancashire came under him as Commissioner, our University has concerned itself with the nearest of the Special Areas, and he has taken a keen interest in the resulting industrial survey, which includes West Cumberland.

" His own lucid, vigorous reports have stirred the conscience of prosperous England, but only through legislation, expenditure, and a great extension of the thought and research devoted to social economics does he foresee a more wholesome distribution of national industry. His zeal for a better society he inherits from his father, whose recent death, in his hundredth year, we lament, and who founded the trust that bears his name for research towards the Christian ideal in social life.

" Here is one who befriended the industrial North when many seemed only anxious to forget it. The University of Manchester, in the heart of industrial England, thanks him."

Colonel LUXMORE NEWCOMBE, presented for the degree of Doctor of Letters :

" On this day which has seen the opening of our new library

I present to you a man who has achieved for the libraries of Great Britain what visionaries desire for the Governments of the world ; he has turned them from rivalry to co-operation and from isolation to the generous disclosure and pooling of their resources. He is now bringing foreign countries too into his orbit, and will not be content till all the nations of the world are members of his league.

"The National Central Library, of which he is principal executive officer and librarian, came into being only twenty-one years ago to lend to students such as those of the W.E.A. books too costly for them to buy or too specialised for their local libraries to acquire. From this beginning he has raised it till it is not only a great lending library in itself but also the unique centre of information and distribution whereby the rarer books of nearly all the libraries of the nation are made available for the special needs of any accredited student. The plan, like its originator, has the simplicity of greatness.

"He learnt his profession in a good school as sub-librarian and then as successor to Professor Chambers, under whose rule the library of University College, London, produced a number of those who to-day hold similar posts at other universities ; and all of that school are not librarians only but scholars, too. But he is a man of many parts. He would like to have been an architect ; he has been a soldier, commanding the Officers' Training Corps of London University, and in his war service with the Green Howards acquiring the reputation of the perfect adjutant."

Sir THOMAS BEECHAM, presented for the degree of Doctor of Music :

"I present to you an international star of the first magnitude, a gorgeous spectacle to be described through opera-glasses from Covent Garden and many foreign observatories. Recognised from the first in England for the distinction of his individual readings and for his vital rhythm, he has steadily convinced the whole world of music that England has produced a self-taught prodigy in that field where she has for centuries shown little fertility. His name will always be associated in the first place with opera as conductor, impresario, and practical visionary ;

yet apart from his triumphs in opera he has virtually given Delius to the world as one of the few great modern composers, he has raised the London Philharmonic Orchestra to the very highest level of fame, and he has conducted more works from memory than anyone in the whole history of music. Born and educated in Lancashire, he gave our county and city no small service by taking over the Hallé Orchestra at a difficult time and handing it on to Sir Hamilton Harty with its lustre renewed and enhanced.

"He wields words with no less gusto than his baton. His opinion of broadcast music does not lack pungency, though the wireless recently retaliated with an unexpected blast. The Greek theory that education consists of music and gymnastics is put into practice by him in the form of music by the orchestra and gymnastics by the conductor. But the real fascination of his character lies in this, that he is completely careless how near and how often he approaches the line that divides the sublime from the ridiculous, and is yet saved from every such danger by his utter absorption in his art."

In acknowledgment of the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates, Sir Thomas Beecham recalled that Manchester had a regular orchestra and a regular series of concerts before London, and that Londoners came to Manchester to hear works that they could not hear in London. It might be that times had altered, but Manchester still remained one of the representative musical towns of Europe in respect of the making of music, and he would like to see in this great University cognisance of that fact, and greater appreciation of the influences, good and beneficial, that a great university could have on the musical life of a town that was already as famous as Manchester.

He saw in such universities as Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh important posts for the teaching of music, and he could not shut his eyes to the fact that in these centres, not so important as Manchester, and where the opportunities for influence were not one quarter as far-reaching, music from the academic point of view occupied a far more important and honourable position.

Sir Malcolm Stewart, replying also on behalf of the other

honorary graduates, said that to be honoured by the University of Manchester was a source of great satisfaction, as the University was outstanding in many respects. It had, in particular, benefited mankind throughout the world by the practical application of the results of research done by the research section of the Faculty of Commerce and Administration. The first Chair of Organic Chemistry in this country was established at Manchester by Sir Henry Roscoe, and the School of Chemistry had accomplished outstanding work. It had been Sir Henry's ambition to make the School of Chemistry worthy of the great industrial district of South Lancashire, and, in fact, the school had achieved recognition throughout the world. Manchester was one of the few universities to have a department for the education of the deaf. Manchester was the largest and oldest of the modern civic universities and had done pioneer work.

At a meeting of the Court of Governors held also on the 2nd of June, over which the Chancellor, Lord Crawford, presided, the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. J. S. B. Stopford) pointed out that the most noteworthy event of the session had been the launching of the appeal for £300,000.

THE UNI-
VERSITY'S
NEEDS.

"The plans for the new dental hospital, the gift with which Mr. Samuel Turner had given the response to the appeal such a wonderful start, were nearing completion," he said. "It was to be built on the island site near the Medical School, bounded on the west by Cambridge Street and on the east by Chatham Street, in a position readily accessible to patients and quieter than in Oxford Road. It was going to be the best and most up-to-date dental hospital in this country. That site would also accommodate on the south side the new medical library which was essential, and he hoped they would get in the near future.

"Although no one has followed Mr. Turner's excellent example," Dr. Stopford continued, "by giving us a whole building, I still live in hope, and I should be happy to suggest things which would suit all tastes and all pockets.

"There was the conversion of the examination hall into a

concert hall suitable for the dramatic society and for public lectures—a great need,—which would cost a matter of £5000. There were buildings for architecture, economics, and the social sciences, and in each case the estimated expenditure was about £30,000. There was the arts building, which he feared could not be less than £65,000 to £70,000. They had made an excellent start with the appeal, but they had a long way to go yet.”

Dr. Stopford went on to report the institution of a new chair of theoretical physics additional to the existing chairs in experimental physics, physical chemistry, and applied mathematics. This was likely to have far-reaching effects, for the four chairs were essential. They were strengthening a side of their work which had deservedly won a high place and brought great distinction to the university. He greatly regretted that a shadow was cast over the prospect by the news that Professor Bragg was leaving in November, but he must congratulate the National Physical Laboratory on their wise choice of a new director.

Referring to the new arts library, he expressed his admiration for the way in which the books were transferred. Everyone was delighted with the greatly improved facilities and opportunities for readers. The re-equipment and refurnishing of the refectory were appreciated and the number of people making use of the refectory had increased and was still increasing. A recent visitor had said that they had now the best Men's and Women's Unions' buildings in this country, and he hoped the new staff house would be opened next term. The staff's old rooms would then be converted into common-room for past and present students and staff, making social centres which they hoped would be of considerable value.

Concluding, Dr. Stopford, spoke of two innovations which had been most successful, and he hoped would continue annually. There was the garden party held by Convocation on Degree Day to students graduating and leaving that day, so that a large proportion of the leaving students joined Convocation. The other innovation was the publication of the first number of the university journal, to be sent to every graduate they could. They had decided to publish a similar journal next year, and

they hoped it would be published regularly in future to keep graduates in touch with the university.

The University session ended with two open days (the 9th and 10th July) on which the public was invited to visit the University with the intention of making the University and its work a reality to the many members of the community which it serves, rather than a mere name with no full and clear significance.

CONCLUSION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
SESSION.

A large number of visitors responded to the invitation and found much to interest them in the many exhibits and short lectures arranged in the various departments.

At the degree ceremonies, at which the Vice-Chancellor presided, 483 degrees were conferred, 214 of which were in the various Honours Schools and the Honours Divisions in Technology. The degree of "Doctor" was conferred on 19 candidates, that of "Master" on 33, and of "Bachelor" on 431.

The opportunity was taken to confer the honorary degrees of Master of Arts on Dr. Ernest Bosdin Leech, and Mr. Thomas Brown. Dr. Leech, who had recently retired from the Medical School, where he had served almost the whole of his life and had rendered great service to the medical library as honorary librarian, bears an honoured name, for it was his father, Sir Bosdin Leech, who was a leader among those who "dug the great ditch that brought the sea to Manchester," and nephew of the University's first professor of pharmacology, whose name is preserved in the title of the Leech professorship. Dr. Leech has also been a great worker in archæology, and chairman of the local Ancient Monuments Society.

Mr. Thomas Brown was formerly Headmaster of Ducie Avenue School, and teachers' representative on the Manchester Education Committee since 1919. It is said of him that in whatever district he has taught he has become the local centre of influence, information and helpfulness, not only for pupils and colleagues, but also for the whole population.

The obituary list for the session is unhappily long. It includes the Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, Professor J. L. Stocks, whose death is a grievous blow to the Universities

both of Liverpool and of Manchester, to academic life, and to the community generally. Among former members of the staff whose loss is deeply regretted are Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, Professor of Anatomy, and Mrs. Mary E. Hogg, assistant tutor for women students and Warden of Ashburne Hall.

Various universities have conferred honorary degrees on present and past members of the staff: Dublin, the degree of D.Sc. on the Vice-Chancellor; Glasgow, the degree of D.D. on Professor T. W. Manson; Harvard, the degree of Doctor of Letters on Professor F. M. Powicke, Doctor of Science on Professor Sir Arthur S. Eddington, Doctor of Divinity on Professor C. H. Dodd. Dr. Robert MacDougall, deputy treasurer of the University, and four members of the University Court, Mr. R. A. Burrows, Major C. F. Entwistle, Mr. P. E. Meadon, Director of Education for Lancashire, and Dr. R. H. Pickard, Director of the Shirley Institute, have recently received the honour of knighthood.

Professor H. B. Charlton has been elected president of the Association of University Teachers for the coming year.

The Vice-Chancellor also took advantage of the opportunity for referring to the annual report, and of calling attention to the services rendered by the extra-mural department. "This University, through its joint committee, provides more tutorial and preparatory classes than any university in the country. During the present session no fewer than eighty-six tutorial and preparatory classes have been held in the towns and villages, and neighbouring parts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, and we are making arrangements for even larger numbers next session. These courses provide facilities for many hundreds of people who cannot afford the time or the money to be in daily attendance upon the University."

Referring to the new curriculum of the Faculty of Music, Dr. Stopford mentioned that further progress had been made in linking it more closely with the Royal College of Music, and that under the guidance of Mr. Procter-Gregg the music societies were more active than they had been for some years. "In fact, they are causing me some embarrassment by an insistent demand for better accommodation in which to give their performances."

Professor J. F. Duff, Director of Education in the University of Manchester, has been appointed Warden of the Durham Colleges.

UNIVERSITY
STAFF
CHANGES.

His departure from Manchester will inflict serious loss on the University. During Professor Duff's short tenure of his chair he has been concerned in making teachers, and in the process they have been prepared to take their places as influences in the world about them.

Since the departure of the late Professor Stocks, Professor Duff has filled the post of Presenter for Honorary Degrees, in which, by his felicitous introductions, he has lent dignity to these public ceremonies.

Our loss is Durham's gain, and we offer our congratulations to the University of Durham.

To the distinguished members of the professorial staff, Manchester has long since become a place of sojourn, rather than an abiding place.

Professor J. S. B. Stopford, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., the Vice-Chancellor of the University, in view of the increasing responsibilities of his administrative work, has intimated to the Senate and Council his desire to be relieved of the duties of the Chair of Anatomy, which he has filled with such great distinction since 1919.

NEW
UNIVERSITY
APPOINT-
MENTS.

An invitation to succeed Professor Stopford, has been accepted by Mr. Frederic Wood Jones, D.Sc., M.B., B.S.(Lond.), F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S., F.R.S., at present Professor of Anatomy in the University of Melbourne, who will take up his duties in January, 1938.

Professor Wood Jones, who is a graduate of London, has had a very brilliant career as anatomist, anthropologist and archaeologist, not only in this country but also at Adelaide, Hawaii, Nubia, Peiping, and elsewhere, and has a number of publications on human and comparative anatomy, and works on "Coral and Atolls," "Arboreal Man," "The Principles of Anatomy as Seen in the Hand," "The Mammals of South Australia," "The Matrix of the Mind," "Man's Place Among the Mammals," and "Sea Birds Simplified" to his credit.

In the years 1909 and 1910, Professor Wood Jones was Lecturer in Anatomy in the University of Manchester, so he is not a stranger to the northern university, and we offer him a very cordial welcome upon his return.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the premature death of Professor John Leofric Stocks, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, and until a few months ago, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester, where he had won the affection not only of his colleagues on the staff and the students, but of the members of the W.E.A. in whom he took such a deep and personal interest.

PROFESSOR
JOHN
LEOFRIC
STOCKS

Dr. Stocks, who was in his fifty-fourth year, died with tragic suddenness at Swansea on Sunday, the 13th of June, from a heart attack at the home of the Principal of Swansea University College, with whom he was staying. Dr. Stocks had given an address to the extra-mural students of the College on Saturday. Death came very quickly on Sunday.

Dr. Stocks came to Manchester in 1924, to occupy the Sir Samuel Hall Chair of Philosophy in succession to Professor Alexander. By his death academic England loses one of its leading figures, and Liverpool has its hopeful prospect dashed.

The funeral service was held in Liverpool Cathedral, the nave and south transept of which were filled with representatives of the many spheres of social service, who came with the civil and university representatives to pay their last respects to one who had rendered such inestimable service to his day and generation.

The funeral address was very appropriately delivered by the Archbishop of York (Dr. William Temple), with whom Professor Stocks had been class-mate at Rugby.

"Faith is always most difficult when we need it most," said the Archbishop, "that is because it is faith—not knowledge. It is easy to be trustful when all that most concerns us is as we wish it to be, but such trust is often shallow. To trust still in the face of some shattering blow—that is the reality of faith. And it is of such faith that many of us are feeling the need to-day.

Yet we shall be false to all those qualities in John Stocks¹ which make his loss so great a calamity if we cannot find and live up to a faith like that.

“ I never knew exactly how far he could accept the Church’s formulation of the trust by which it calls men to live, but he had a reality of faith in God, as Christ has taught us to know Him, and an excellence and power of spiritual good which put to shame my own more hesitating self-commitment, and his standard of spiritual good was most manifestly Christian. He has described the high impulse of his life in words which, quite unconsciously no doubt, are self-revealing. The judgment of oneself, which is of the essence of morality, is a tormenting consciousness of a stricter logic and a higher level of execution always within reach if the spirit is willing, which leaves no room for rest or contentment.’

“ They would note,” Dr. Temple went on, “ how he put together a stricter logic and a higher level of execution. It was a special feature of the quality of his mind that thought and practice were so closely linked. His philosophy was an especially resolute effort to understand actual life and ordinary everyday life more than heights and depths of heroism or tragedy. His action in the political field and in personal social service, and to a great extent in the common intercourse of life, was an expression of the principles which his strictly disciplined mind held. His academic work in the University, his service to the Workers’ Educational Association, and his influence on the policy of the Labour party were all part of his philosophy, which was itself the intellectual aspect of these activities. A capacity for wide sympathy with men and women of every sort was the counterpart of this almost perfect balance. His grasp and arrangement of ideas in administrative problems was extraordinary.

“ For such qualities we should have given him almost unlimited admiration, yet, though admiration there was, the very mention of it seems incongruous, so small a place did it occupy in our feelings as compared with the friendship he inspired. I cannot trust myself to speak of this. Ever since for a time we worked together in the upper bench of the sixth form at Rugby, I have thought of him as chief among my friends, and love at

such a time as this must be silent. But that long and close friendship has enabled me to feel, though not to express, the secret power by which he was able to take a firm stand on a cause not popular with his colleagues and never invoke a shadow of ill-will. Greatly gifted he was, with a high sense of responsibility in the use of his gifts, but, more than all, most lovable. Just now the sorrow for his death and the shock of it blots out all other feeling, but as the days pass this will give place to thankfulness for the varied and rich achievement of his life and that we have known him.

"So I end where I began. If to-day faith seems difficult, it is because we have been robbed of familiar intercourse with one who was a living instance of faith, of confidence in things hopeful, the testing of things unseen. If we are worthy to have been his friends at all we are bound to win from him and now shape, from the way we face life without his presence, some reflection of that faith. Our loyalty in friendship will not be shown in the intensity of our sorrow. That, after all, is only the inevitable reaction of our self-concern; it will be shown in the strength with which we give ourselves to bring true the things we hope for and the things he taught us to hope for."

Much sympathy is felt for Mrs. Stocks, who had been so closely associated with her husband's public and university work.

We regret to have to record the death of Bishop Welldon, in his eighty-third year, which took place on the 18th of June, at his home at Sevenoaks, Kent, where he had lived in retirement since his resignation of the Deanery of Durham in 1933.

BISHOP
J. E. C.
WELLDON

James Edward Cowell Welldon, son of the late Reverend Edward Welldon, senior master of Tonbridge School, was born at Tonbridge in 1854.

He was educated at Eton and Cambridge and had a brilliantly successful career: Scholar of Eton, Scholar of King's, Bell's Scholar, Browne's Medallist, Craven Scholar, Senior Chancellor's Medallist, Senior Classic, and Fellow of King's.

After taking his degree in 1877 he travelled abroad for a time,

and upon his return was appointed tutor of King's College, Cambridge. In 1883 he became Master of Dulwich College, and two years later he was appointed Headmaster of Harrow, where during thirteen years he impressed his strong personality upon the school, which greatly prospered under his rule. In 1898 he was appointed Bishop of Calcutta, but the climate did not suit him, and after a stay of three years he had to give up the work. Upon his return to England he became Canon of Westminster, and in 1906 he was appointed Dean of Manchester. In the public life of this northern metropolis he took his full share, lending his active support to every good cause.

For a number of years Bishop Welldon was a member of the Council of Governors of the Rylands Library, where he won the regard of his colleagues, and until within a few months of his death he remained in friendly touch with the writer of this note.

In 1918 Bishop Welldon was transferred to the Deanery of Durham, in succession to Dr. Hensley Henson upon his elevation to the Bishopric of Hereford, where he remained until 1933.

Whilst in retirement he published (in 1935) an interesting volume of reminiscences, under the title : *Forty Years On*.

"One who knew him" has admirably summed up the character of Bishop Welldon in the following words : "a faithful and true friend, a splendid scholar, a high-minded and unselfish gentleman, and a very sincere and devout Christian."

The death of Miss Annie Elizabeth Fredericka Horniman, C.H., on Friday, the 5th of August, at the age of seventy-six years, which took place at Shere, in Surrey, has robbed the British Theatre of one of its most outstanding characters and liberal patrons.

ANNIE
ELIZABETH
FREDERICKA
HORNIMAN

Miss Horniman was born, of Quaker stock, at Forest Hill, London, on the 3rd of October, 1860. She was educated privately and at the Slade School, followed by years of continental travel, and, as she herself tells us, by the disapproval of her elders, she became in early youth interested in the theatre and the Suffrage, with the result that it is difficult to estimate the importance of the work she has done for the British Drama.

Her first venture was in 1894, when she undertook to provide funds for a season at the Avenue Theatre, London (now the Playhouse). Todhunter's *The Comedy of Sighs*, Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man*, and *The Land of Heart's Desire* by W. B. Yeats were produced there, but the result was what Miss Horniman described as a "fruitful failure." This was the first time that Shaw had been selected for a place in the regular as distinct from the occasional theatre.

This failure did not damp Miss Horniman's enthusiasm, for in 1904 she took the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and gave her support to the Irish National Theatre Society, which had its beginnings in 1901, and in doing so she became the inspiration of Yeats, Synge, and Lady Gregory.

This Irish National Theatre was a natural outgrowth of the Celtic Revival, which in itself was but a phase of the Irish National Movement, which had met with a good deal of ridicule in this country, because of the extravagancies and absurdities in which some of the more aggressive spirits indulged, yet among literary people, who looked upon it with unprejudiced eyes, it aroused a real sympathetic interest.

The aim of the little band of enthusiasts, who were responsible for laying the foundations of this national drama, was to render in dramatic form some of the best of the legendary tales and traditions which tell of the faith and life of the Irish people, of the deeds of their heroes, and of the glories of their kings, and in so doing to substitute a live national drama worthy of the name, for what Mr. Yeats described as: "the machine-made play of modern commerce, that lifeless product of conventional cleverness from which we come away knowing nothing new about ourselves, seeing life with no new eyes, and hearing it with no new ears."

In the realisation of these aims, Miss Horniman played a very important part by generously undertaking, not only to provide these struggling enthusiasts with a permanent home, but also by providing them with a subsidy for five years, so that they might develop the literary and dramatic instincts of the Irish people.

Until the advent, in 1903, of this fairy godmother, they had

had to write their own plays, and with their limited resources to produce them, often under the most distressing circumstances, and amidst most inconvenient surroundings.

Indeed, there had been no Irish plays except the melodramas dealing with the insurrection of 1798, and similar subjects, until Miss Horniman came to the aid of these enthusiasts. To-day there are hundreds of plays dealing with every aspect of modern life in town and country, with characters in Irish mythology, and with life in other lands, written or translated by Irish authors.

In the early days of this movement some of the finest productions were played to very sparse audiences, and when Synge's *Playboy in the Western World* was first produced, the police had to be called in to quell the opposition and to remove those who protested.

Since those exciting days a great change has been wrought. A taste for sincere and original drama has been created, with an atmosphere which allows a latitude of expression that would not have been dreamt of forty years ago, and it should not be forgotten that in the period of transition it was Miss Horniman's help that was so invaluable.

Miss Horniman held on to the Abbey Theatre for six years, and then handed it over to its company for a tenth of the sum she had spent upon it.

After her success in Dublin Miss Horniman felt the need of a better centre from which to spread her ideas of repertory, and she decided to return to England, not to London but to the provinces, and her choice fell on Manchester, where she opened at the Midland Theatre in September, 1907, with the domestic comedy *David Ballard*. A number of modern plays were produced, and the appreciation which the public showed of her efforts led her to purchase, in 1908, the Gaiety Theatre, which under her effective direction speedily developed into one of the most widely known theatres in the world, down to the time (1921) when she relinquished its ownership and management.

From September, 1907, until 1921, Miss Horniman faithfully served the interests of English drama in the North of England. More than six hundred plays, of which over a hundred were

original, by every sort of author, both native and foreign, from Euripides to Stanley Houghton and St. John Ervine, were produced at the Gaiety Theatre, which quickly became the training ground for young Lancashire writers, where they could obtain the only training that is of any service to dramatists—the chance to see their plays actually performed on the stage.

It is but bare justice to Miss Horniman to say that she evoked the plays of Alan Monkhouse, who is said to have declared that not until the Gaiety existed did he write a play.

For some years Miss Horniman acted as private secretary to W. B. Yeats and gave him his start as a playwright, just as she gave Bernard Shaw his start, and in doing so had the merit of original vision, and it is no exaggeration to say that had it not been for Miss Horniman there would have been no repertory in this country. She spent £50,000 on her theatres in Dublin and Manchester, and never made a penny out of them.

It is quite impossible to estimate the debt which the English theatre owes to Miss Horniman. Many prominent actors and actresses were trained in Miss Horniman's Manchester School. Dame Sybil Thorndike, and her husband, Mr. Lewis Casson, met and married in her company, and two of their babies were born in the company. Iden Payne and Basil Dean were two of Miss Horniman's young men who have become renowned as play directors, and it is scarcely possible to scan a London playbill to-day without finding the name of a player who was once a member of Miss Horniman's Company.

When Miss Horniman removed from Manchester in 1921 she rendered a signal service to students of the modern drama by depositing in the Rylands Library, twenty-six volumes of newspaper and other cuttings, which furnish a complete record of Miss Horniman's courageous enterprises, both in Dublin and in Manchester.

Seventeen volumes relate to the Manchester project, and nine volumes to the Irish National Theatre from its beginnings in 1901. These important sources of information would have been lost, because through accident of birth they are buried in the files of the various newspapers and periodicals in which they appeared, but for the praiseworthy energy displayed by

the donor in collecting, and with her own hands preserving and making the collection available in its existing form.

It remains only to be said that for the history of the English and Irish Theatre during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the historian will find that much of his work has to be written around Miss Horniman, and that he is greatly indebted to her for her foresight in preserving and making available for his use this valuable collection of material, which is now readily accessible to them in the Rylands Library.

The Fifth Congress of Papyrology was held in Oxford from Monday, the 30th August, until Friday the 1st September, when 168 delegates assembled, representing nearly every country in Europe, the United States of America, and Eastern countries.

FIFTH CON-
GRESS OF
PAPYROLOGY.

It was the first congress of Papyrologists to be held in Great Britain. The first congress of all was held in Brussels in 1929, the second formed a section of the Oriental Congress which was held at Leyden in 1931, the third was held at Munich in 1933, and the fourth in Berlin in 1935.

It may be regarded as an indication of the rapid growth of interest in this study, that within about fifty years of its birth, one hundred and sixty-eight scholars from all parts of the world should be induced to travel long distances in order to take part in the discussion of the points of special technique and scholarship needed for the decipherment and dating of papyri, and for the advancement of this science.

Oxford was undoubtedly the most appropriate meeting place for this congress, for few scholars have made larger contributions to the subject than Bernard Grenfell and Alfred Hunt, both of whom were Fellows of Queen's College, where so much of their epoch-making work was done. Furthermore, a large part of the papyri discovered by these two scholars at Oxyrhynchus is still housed there.

It was fitting that Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, who was Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum from 1909 to 1930, should be installed as President, since he is the oldest surviving worker in the field of papyrology. It was in 1889,

as he himself told us in his presidential address, when as a member of the staff of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, that he was first confronted with a papyrus and told to decipher it.

In the course of his career Sir Frederic has had the distinction of being the first scholar to present to the modern world the texts of many classical authors which for centuries had been lost. The treatise of Aristotle on "The Constitution of Athens," the "Odes" of Bacchylides, the "Mimes" of Herodas, and many other classical texts of great though of lesser interest are amongst the recoveries which have been edited by him. To-day the finest collection of literary papyri that exists anywhere in the world is to be found in the British Museum, largely through the enthusiasm and instrumentality of Sir Frederic.

Sir Frederic Kenyon in his presidential address on "Fifty Years of Papyrology" described Papyrology as the science of all those writings which happen to have come down to us on papyrus, and the only justification for treating it as a unit is that in all cases it gave a special and separate position in time and place, or both, of the subject in question. In Biblical criticism it has given manuscripts earlier than any previously known, and has thrown light on the textual history of the Scriptures during a period which hitherto had been very obscure, and also on the way they were written and circulated in the generations immediately following the composition of the books of the New Testament. It has restored lost classical texts and has shown that corruption did not begin with Byzantine scribes. It has added six hundred years to our knowledge of Greek writing, and has given us a wealth of detailed information about Egypt over a period of more than a thousand years.

Its evidence in all cases is of a kind of which little exists in any other form. Papyrology is the study of particular and peculiar departments of a number of different subjects, of which the only common feature is that they happen to be written on papyrus, and have been brought to light by excavations in the one country which, with negligible exceptions, had the peculiar soil and climate that has enabled the material to survive.

One special department to which Sir Frederic referred was that of law. There are hundreds of documents dealing with legal matters, from Egyptian times to Byzantine, which provide ample material for the studies of jurists. A number of such documents, one from the time of Nero, furnished the subject matter for contributions to the proceedings.

The garden party which was given in the grounds of Queen's College afforded those attending the congress the welcome opportunity of paying homage to the memories of the two brilliant young scholars : Grenfell and Hunt, who were amongst the pioneers of this study.

During the period of the Congress the Grenfell and Hunt Memorial Library in the Ashmolean Museum was open to members for consultation, and there was an interesting exhibition of papyri in the Bodleian Library.

The organisation of the congress was perfect in every detail and we venture to offer our congratulations to Mr. C. H. Roberts and his collaborators Mr. T. B. Skeat and Mr. E. G. Turner.

It was not until 1890 that the great age of papyri opened with the discovery by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie of papyri of the third century B.C., in the cartonnage of mummies, and the acquisition by the British Museum of a group of manuscripts of great literary interest.

PROGRESS
OF THE
SCIENCE OF
PAPYROLOGY

The systematic search for Greek papyri dated from 1895, when the Egypt Exploration Society began excavations with that object in view. For some years Professor Grenfell and his collaborator, Professor Hunt, had the field to themselves, but gradually their example was followed by French, German, and Italian scholars.

Some papyri of the Ptolemaic period, and nearly all the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods come either from the rubbish heaps of certain large towns in Egypt, especially Arsinoë, Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus, where Grenfell and Hunt made their chief finds, or else from houses in Fayum villages, which, owing to defective irrigation, became stranded in the desert and remained outside the area of cultivation until a few years ago. It was in 1905-6 that these two young scholars made their

largest find of literary papyri, consisting of the débris of three libraries of classical works.

The great bulk of papyri discovered in Egypt are of a non-literary character, and may be counted by tens of thousands. They cover a stretch of a thousand years, and contribute much to our knowledge of Græco-Roman life and economics, but their importance as accessions to our knowledge of Greek literature cannot compare with the numerically smaller bulk of literary discoveries.

Writing as long ago as 1919 Sir Frederic Kenyon set the total number of Greek literary papyri, extant and published, at about 920, but many additions have since been made to that number.

In size they vary from rolls of thirty feet long to scraps of the size of a postage stamp, whilst in quality they range from an ode of Sappho to three or four mutilated lines of a perfectly well-known work, or an unintelligible and almost illegible fragment of some work unknown or unidentifiable.

Of these 920 papyri, Sir Frederic tells us that 570 contain portions of texts already known to us, and about 350 contain texts which are new. Of the known texts, 100 are Biblical or patristic, and about 270 are Homeric. The other 200 specimens of known classical authors include Demosthenes, Plato, Euripides, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Isocrates, which are fairly well represented, while Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus and Aristotle are poorly represented.

In the competition among various nations during the last fifty years for obtaining papyri, the lion's share of the prizes has fallen to Great Britain. It has been through the enterprise of the late Sir W. E. A. Wallis Budge and Sir Frederic Kenyon that many of the best classical texts have been secured for the British Museum. The non-literary documents from various sites now in the British Museum fill five stately volumes, which have been published by Sir Frederic Kenyon and Dr. H. I. Bell.

The Rylands collection of papyrus rolls, codices, and fragments includes examples of "The Book of the Dead," both in hieroglyphic and hieratic, and important collections of Demotic, Coptic, Arabic, and Greek documents.

The nucleus of the collection consisted of the papyri discovered by the late Professors Grenfell and Hunt during their joint expeditions to towns in the Fayum and other districts in or near the Nile Valley, between the years 1895 and 1907.

These were acquired in the first place for the late Earl of Crawford and after the purchase, in 1901, of the Crawford Collection of Manuscripts, which included the papyri, by Mrs. Rylands, for the Governors of the Rylands Library.

Of the DEMOTIC documents, which are unusually rich in Pre-Ptolemaic texts, an elaborate catalogue was produced by Dr. F. Ll. Griffith, in 1909, after ten years of persistent labour. The catalogue is in three imposing quarto volumes, and is something more than a mere catalogue since it includes collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents with lithographed hand copies of the earlier examples, transliterations, translations, valuable introductions dealing with Demotic writing, full notes, and a glossary of Demotic representing in the estimation of scholars the most important contribution hitherto made to the study of Demotic.

The COPTIC papyri consist of upwards of five hundred pieces, ranging in date from the fourth to the sixteenth century. Most of the documents are in the Sahidic or Thebaic dialect, but there are a number in the Bohairic and a smaller group in the Achmimic dialect. They cover a wide range of subjects, and include probably the oldest known Bohairic New Testament manuscript. Of this collection an elaborate catalogue was published in 1909 by Dr. W. E. Crum, which was followed in 1920 by a supplement.

The ARABIC papyri, in certain respects, are said to take rank with the collection of the Archduke Rainer in Vienna, although there are fewer complete documents and many more in a mutilated state. The preparation of the catalogue sorely taxed the ingenuity of its compiler, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, but the results obtained have exceeded his anticipations. The volume illustrated with collotype facsimiles was published in 1933.

The LATIN papyri are not numerous, but they include some early and interesting examples, six of which find a place in the second part of Dr. Lowe's "*Codices Latini antiquiores*". The

most important document in this group is the "Ravenna Roll" (nearly six feet in length), which is a legal instrument of donation to the church at Ravenna, written on papyrus at Ravenna about A.D. 580-600. One of the Greek witnesses has written his testimony in Latin in Greek characters, and by so doing he has added something to our knowledge of old Latin pronunciation. The "Ravenna Roll" has been described by Dr. M. R. James in the "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library". The smaller papyri will form a group by themselves in the third volume of the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri".

The collection of GREEK papyri comprises upwards of a thousand examples, most of which have been accumulated since 1901 with the assistance of the late Professors Grenfell and Hunt and Dr. Rendel Harris.

The library's indebtedness to the two scholars, Grenfell and Hunt, was further increased by their undertaking to prepare a catalogue of the collection. Unfortunately, ill health and the pressure of other claims upon his time prevented Dr. Grenfell from taking any active part in this work, which consequently devolved upon Dr. Hunt.

The first volume of the resulting "Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library," which dealt with the literary texts, made its appearance in 1913. This was followed in 1915 by the second volume, devoted to documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the preparation and publication of which was carried out by Dr. J. de M. Johnson, and Dr. Victor Martin of Geneva, under the supervision of Dr. Hunt.

Arrangements for the publication of the remaining portions of the collection, consisting of documents of the Byzantine period, and including the last group acquired by the late Professor Grenfell in 1920, which will now form the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue, were also undertaken by Dr. Hunt, but by his untimely death in 1934, the library was deprived of his services, even before he had found time to do more than a little preliminary sorting.

Fortunately just before his death Dr. Hunt had arranged with Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford,

who has since been appointed Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford, to take over the work of preparing for publication the remaining unpublished portions of the collection.

It was in the process of sorting over the residue of the collection that Mr. Roberts found the Grenfell purchase to contain some extremely interesting papyri, including some unknown historical writings and a very interesting letter attacking the Manichees, but the gem of the collection is the fragment of the Fourth Gospel. As soon as the outstanding importance of this fragment was realised, it was considered advisable to make the text accessible to scholars without delay, and Mr. Roberts was requested to prepare a monograph for the press, in which the palæographical and textual results of his investigations should be made known. This was published in November, 1935.

Dr. Rendel Harris's contribution to the collection was obtained by him during an enforced sojourn in Egypt between November, 1916, and May, 1917.

In the month of November, 1916, Dr. Harris set out to join his friend Professor James Hope Moulton, in India, whither he had gone in 1915 to visit the Parsee communities. Unfortunately the boat on which Dr. Harris travelled, the *City of Birmingham*, was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean. Dr. Harris's health suffered in consequence of exposure in an open boat, and he decided not to continue his journey to Bombay, but to remain in Egypt, there to await the return of Dr. Moulton, so as to make the journey back to England in company with him. Together they sailed on the ill-fated *City of Paris*, and for a second time Dr. Harris suffered not only all the horrors of exposure in an open boat following the sinking of the ship, but he experienced the unspeakable grief of witnessing the passing of his friend, who succumbed to weakness following the exposure and his laborious ministrations to the other occupants of the boat.

During his stay in Egypt Dr. Harris busied himself in hunting papyri and succeeded in making some important finds. Fortunately he did not attempt to carry his finds with him on the ill-fated ship, but left them in safe custody in Egypt, until such time as they could be transported to England without risk, and that was not done until 1919.

In May, 1917, the Library arranged to take over from Dr. Harris his collection of papyri, although it was not until 1919 that delivery to the library was actually effected.

Very little work had been done upon the Harris collection, when (in 1934) Mr. Roberts was entrusted by Dr. Hunt with the work of continuing the Catalogue of the Rylands Collection, and he was requested to make an examination of the Harris group with the object of including them in the general catalogue, the third volume of which will be devoted to the Biblical and literary examples, to be followed by the fourth volume, in which the non-literary documents will be dealt with.

In the course of a hurried examination of Dr. Harris's finds Mr. Roberts was attracted by a piece of mummy cartonnage, and at once decided to make an attempt to separate the various layers of this piece of amalgam, with the startling result that it was found to contain fragments of a papyrus roll of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek version of the Septuagint. These fragments are of particular interest, since they were undoubtedly written in the second century B.C., three hundred years earlier than any other known manuscript of the Bible in any language, which brings us near to the period when, according to ancient tradition, the first Greek translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was made in Alexandria in the third century B.C.

A separate monograph was published in July, 1936, in which Mr. Roberts has dealt in a most illuminating manner with these fragments and their significance.

The third volume of the Catalogue is in active preparation, and is likely to appear before the end of the year.

The year 1937 marks the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of Isaac Abravanel, Financier, Statesman, and
Biblical Scholar. ISAAC
ABRAVANEL.

Abravanel, who boasted Davidic descent, was born in Lisbon in 1437, died in Venice in 1508, and was buried in Padua.

He received a careful education under the Rabbi Joseph Hayyim, of Lisbon, and entered the service of King Alfonso V, of Portugal, became his treasurer and soon won his complete confidence. Under King Alfonso's successor, John II,

Abravanel was charged with conspiracy and sought safety by flight to Castile in 1483. Here he found favour with Ferdinand and Isabella until the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. When the banishment was decreed Abravanel left nothing undone to induce the King to revoke the edict, but in vain. Such was his love for his afflicted brethren in faith that he left Spain with them and settled in Naples. In both countries Abravanel rendered incalculable services to the government as financier. For a short time he lived in peace, but when the city was taken by the French, deprived of all his possessions he followed the young King Ferdinand in 1495, to Messina. He later went to Corfu, in 1496 he settled in Monopoli, and lastly (in 1503) in Venice, where he died in 1508, after having negotiated a commercial treaty between Portugal and the Venetian Republic.

Abravanel was one of the ablest men of his time. He was well versed in Talmudic literature and the learning of his day, his early years having been devoted to the study of Jewish religious philosophy. He wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, and the earlier and later Prophets, which are valuable chiefly for the extracts he makes from his predecessors. He recognised the value of prefacing the individual books of the Bible with a general introduction concerning the character of each, its date of composition, and the author's intention. He may, therefore, be regarded as a pioneer of the modern science of Biblical propædæutics. He also held a place of some importance in the history of Christian exegesis by reason of the fact that he appreciated and quoted freely the earlier Christian exegetes. The Christian scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made a close study of Abravanel's writings, and, in turn, introduced them to the world of Christian scholarship.

Although Abravanel's works cannot be said to be of an absolutely original character, they contain so much instructive material, and exerted so wide an influence that they merit special attention. One characteristic feature of his exegetic writings is his accurate estimate of the historical standpoint in the ancient annals of the Jewish people.

Abravanel's quincentenary was commemorated in Manchester by a public lecture at the University, on the 24th of May,

by Dr. Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures, in which he dealt with "Don Isaac Abravanel: Financier, Statesman and Scholar". We are glad to be able to print the substance of this lecture in the present issue of the BULLETIN.

The Trustees of the British Museum are to be congratulated upon the success which attended the appeal made on their behalf by the Friends of the National Libraries for £1000 with which to purchase a precious Biblical fragment, consisting of eleven leaves of a Vulgate Latin Bible, written in Northumbria about the beginning of the eighth century, when that kingdom had become the literary centre of Europe.

RECOVERY
OF LEAVES
OF AN
EIGHTH
CENTURY
BIBLE

It was under the direction of the Abbot Ceolfrid or Ceolfrith that this Bible was written. Ceolfrid (642-716) was the son of noble parentage who became a monk at the age of eighteen in the monastery of Gilling in Yorkshire, which was under the rule of his brother Cynifrith. In 664 a pestilence broke out at Gilling and the monks of that house were invited to settle in the monastery of Ripon. Ceolfrid accompanied his brother to Ripon and was there ordained priest by Bishop Wilfrith.

Benedict Biscop (628?-690), an Angle of noble parentage, probably of the royal race of Lindisfari, and of lofty character, abandoned the world and paid a visit to Rome. In 669 he was appointed Abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury, over which he presided for two years. In 672 he returned to Northumbria, and when he was forming a new congregation for the Abbey of Wearmouth, which he was about to build, he invited Ceolfrid to help him.

The invitation was accepted, and in 674 the building of the abbey of St. Peter, at Wearmouth, was begun. Ceolfrid held the office of prior, and ruled in Benedict's absence. After a while Ceolfrid grew weary of the cares of office and returned to Ripon, but Benedict went after him and persuaded him to return.

Having settled the constitution of the monastery Benedict paid another visit to Rome in order to procure the books and

furnishings of his church, and probably was accompanied by Ceolfrid. It was in this monastery that Bede, having lost his parents when quite young, was placed by his relatives under the charge of Benedict Biscop, at the age of seven years, and became an oblate of the abbey.

When in 682 King Egfrith gave Benedict another grant of land, he determined to build a second monastery, at Jarrow, to be dedicated to St. Paul. This work he entrusted to Ceolfrid, and made him abbot of the new congregation.

Just before the death of Benedict, which occurred in 690, Ceolfrid (in 689) was constituted abbot of the two monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

Ceolfrid, among other matters of good government, encouraged the practice of the transcription of the Scriptures, and having already one copy of the old version which he had brought from Rome, he caused three other copies of the new St. Jerome or Vulgate version to be made, one to be placed in each of the two monasteries, the third to be presented to the Roman see. It was to these codices that the Venerable Bede had constant access, and he frequently compared their different readings.

In 716 Ceolfrid, feeling that age had lessened his powers, determined to end his days in Rome. He took solemn farewell of his monks (about six hundred in number) and set out on the 4th June, taking with him the copy of the Scriptures which he had prepared as a present for Pope Gregory II. He arrived at Langres on the 25th September, and died there on the same day, at the age of seventy-four years. Of the monks he took with him some returned to carry the tidings of his death to the monasteries, some went on to Rome bearing the gifts he had prepared for the Pope, including the Bible. We do not know whether the manuscript was ever delivered, but it was not lost, for on the first leaf of a manuscript of the whole Bible, formerly in the convent of Monte Amiata, is a dedication of the book to the convent by Peter, abbot of an unnamed Lombard monastery. The manuscript was long regarded as the product of an Italian scriptorium, but the Italian scholar, Bandini, suggested that the hand pointed to an English or German scribe. Eventually another Italian scholar, De Rossi, supported by Dr. Hort,

established the fact that the name Peter in the dedication had been substituted for that of Ceolfrid.

This, the most valuable authority for the Latin Vulgate, which is now preserved in the great Laurentian Library at Florence, as the "Codex Amiatinus," is one of the three codices produced at Wearmouth or Jarrow under the direction of Abbot Ceolfrid.

Of the two sister manuscripts, long thought to have perished during the Danish invasion, the eleven leaves which form the subject of this note, and another leaf discovered in 1909, are at present the only fragments known to have survived.

There is an element of romance surrounding the discovery of these leaves. In 1909 Dr. Greenwell, Librarian of Durham Cathedral, found in an old curiosity shop at Newcastle, a single leaf of an early Latin Bible, containing part of the 1st Book of Kings. This was identified by Mr. C. N. Turner, by reason of its close resemblance both in script and in format to the "Codex Amiatinus," as part of one of the missing codices, and was presented to the British Museum.

Dr. Greenwell's discovery was followed by the discovery of eleven other leaves, certainly from the same Bible and the same Book of Kings, which had been used in a private muniment room as covers to estate books. The discovery is said to have excited little general interest at the time, and the leaves were lost sight of, until an enquiry for them by the Vatican Commission entrusted with the preparation of a revised text of the Vulgate, led to their rediscovery. Thereupon they were deposited in the British Museum to be photographed for the purposes of collation. With the owner's permission photographs were made for the Museum's own use, and a set of prints, specially bound in vellum, with a dedicatory letter in Latin, was presented to the Pope by the Trustees as a birthday gift.

The leaves were later offered to the British Museum by their owner for the sum of £1000, a figure considerably lower than was at first asked. Even £1000 would appear to be an excessive price for eleven leaves, but when their importance, both historically and critically, is considered it is not too much to say that they are beyond price.

A great sigh of relief went up from students of English literature, and lovers of great books when it was announced that the Ashley Library was to find a permanent home in England. The nation was relieved to know that so many of its priceless literary treasures were to be secured for all time against the risk of transportation or dispersal, by the decision of the Trustees of the British Museum to purchase the library formed by the late Thomas James Wise.

ASHLEY
LIBRARY
FOR THE
NATION.

This purchase was made possible by the generous concession of Mrs. J. T. Wise and Mr. H. A. Wise, with the full approval of the executors, in order to give effect to the desire expressed by Mr. Wise in his will, that his books and manuscripts should be kept together and permanently preserved, if possible, in the National Library.

Though the price paid has not been made public, it is known to be less than what the books might have realised had they been put up to auction and sold piecemeal, but large enough to be a considerable drain upon the ordinary resources of the British Museum. But for the generous gesture of the executors it is doubtful whether this acquisition would have been possible.

The Ashley Library, modestly so-called after a street in which Mr. Wise lived at one time, consists of 7000 printed books and manuscripts, and is therefore of modest dimensions when compared with other collections which have become the permanent possession of the nation. The foundation collection of the British Museum, that of Sir Hans Sloane, consisted of 50,000 volumes; the Ashbee Library, bequeathed in 1900, included 15,000 volumes; and the collection of Sir Thomas Grenville, which was bequeathed to the Museum in 1846, comprised 20,240 volumes. The Spencer-Althorp Collection, which forms one of the crowning glories of the Rylands Library, was composed of 40,000 volumes.

It is not in numbers, however, that such a collection must be judged, but by the quality, the condition, the uniqueness, and the personal associations which so many of the books in the Ashley Library possess.

Mr. Thomas James Wise, who was seventy-seven years of age when he died, had collected books from boyhood, and many

of his early purchases were made from book-boxes and book-barrows in Farringdon Road, London, which has been the happy-hunting ground of many other collectors.

Mr. Wise cared more for poetry and the drama, which he regarded as the finest part of English literature, and he succeeded in gathering a collection which illustrates almost all that is best in English verse and drama from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth.

No book was admitted to his shelves unless it was in the best condition possible, in what booksellers describe as "mint condition." His aim was a collection of the finest possible copies of the best books.

Wise was born too late to buy early editions of Shakespeare, but apart from these there is hardly a famous book of poems from the time of Spenser onwards that is not found in the Ashley Library. Some of them are very rare, some fairly common, but all are superlative copies. The interest of others is considerably enhanced by their personal associations with the authors. His collections of Waller, Dryden, Pope, Goldsmith, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, the Brownings, the Rossettis, Swinburne and Byron have been chosen with much knowledge and care. The dramatists, collected with equal discrimination, include Ben Jonson, Chapman, Ford, Massinger, Dryden, Ottway, Congreve, Wycherley, Gay, Goldsmith and Sheridan. Writers in prose are Barrow, Fielding, Defoe, Lamb, Ruskin, and Conrad.

The author most fully represented is Swinburne, who occupies an entire volume of the catalogue. The collection includes very many letters and manuscripts which will be of supreme value when the time comes for a definitive edition of this poet to be prepared.

Other sections are those devoted to Thomas Hardy, Stevenson, the Brontës, and Meredith.

Mr. Wise had all the instincts of a great bibliographer, and the catalogue, which he prepared with his own hands, fills eleven large quarto volumes, the last of which appeared in 1936.

His separate publications consist of volumes, each devoted to one author: Byron, Browning, Brontë, Conrad, Swinburne,

Dryden and Pope. He also compiled and published Bibliographies of Tennyson, Swinburne, Landor, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Ruskin, Robert and Elizabeth Browning, the Brontës, Byron, Joseph Conrad, and "Two Lake Poets."

English literary scholarship will be greatly enriched, not only by his library, but by the careful description of its contents in the pages of his catalogue, and by his other bibliographical compilations, which may be regarded as indispensable tools for all students of the period covered by this collection.

In 1926 Mr. Wise was made an honorary M.A. of Oxford, and was later elected to an Honorary Fellowship of Worcester College, Oxford.

A Manual of Archive Administration, by Hilary Jenkinson (London, Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd., 1937), is a new and revised edition of the volume with the same title published in 1922. The work retains its original form and Mr. Jenkinson sees no reason to disagree with his earlier exposition of archive theory. His approach is strictly official and his arguments are very logical, with the result that certain of his conclusions seem over-theorised. In places the fundamental fact of preservation *for use* is rather lost sight of and the point, with which few would disagree, that Archives should be treated as a separate subject could have been made with a better appreciation of the value of an historical training to the archivist. The progress made in recent years in every department of archive work (well summarised in the Preface) has necessitated the rewriting of many sections dealing with the more practical side, such as the physical care of archives and their arrangement, classification and listing (see further p. xi) and much new and valuable information is brought together here and in Appendices III (Specifications) and IV (Some Enemies of Manuscripts); more attention could perhaps have been paid to developments in scientific aids for the study of manuscripts. But Mr. Jenkinson has incorporated the mass of new material very skilfully and archivists will be grateful to him for the care he has taken in bringing up-to-date the only general work on the subject in English.

ARCHIVE
ADMINISTRATION

The following is a list of the public lectures (the thirty-sixth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture hall of the Library during the ensuing session 1937-38 :—

RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

AFTERNOON LECTURE.—3 o'clock.

Thursday, 18th November, 1937. "The Gospels as History : a Reconsideration." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

EVENING LECTURES.—7.30 o'clock.

Wednesday, 13th October, 1937. "Browning : the Poet's Aim." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th November, 1937. "The Origin and Significance of the names Sadducee and Pharisee." By T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th December, 1937. "Life in a Palestinian Town (Shechem) two hundred years ago." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1938. "The Modern Study of Personality." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th February, 1938. "*The Imitatio Christi*." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 18th March, 1938. "Ritual and Ethic : study of a change in ancient religions about 900-500 B.C." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 6th April, 1938. "Papyrus Discoveries and Early Christianity" (with lantern illustrations). By C. H. Roberts, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College Oxford, and Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford.

The following is a list of the publications issued by the Governors of the Library since the beginning of the present year :—

RECENT
RYLANDS
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

- "The Dark Comedies." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 54. Price eighteenpence net.
- Other Shakespearean studies by the same writer, in the same series, and at the same price, are :—
- "Falstaff." 1935. Pp. 46. "Midsummer Night's Dream." 1933. Pp. 28. "Romanticism in Shakespearean Comedy." 1930. Pp. 24. "Shakespeare's Jew." 1934. Pp. 38. "Shakespeare's Recoil from Romanticism." 1931. Pp. 28. "The Taming of the Shrew." 1932. Pp. 26.
- "The First Epistle of John and the Fourth Gospel." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 30. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty in the John Rylands Library. Transliterated, translated or summarised, with indices of places, personal names, ideograms, an introduction and 18 plates of hand-copies." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in the Semitic Department of the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 54. Price three shillings and sixpence net.
- "The University of Manchester : a retrospect and an appeal." By Henry Guppy, M.A., Litt.D., Librarian of the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 18. Price one shilling net.
- "The Authorship of 'the Discourse of the Commonwealth'." By Edward Hughes, M.A., Lecturer in Modern History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 10. Price one shilling net.
- "The Anniversary Service for Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, 12th September, 1374." By N. B. Lewis, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Sheffield. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes." With two diagrams. By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of

Psychology in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24.
Price eighteenpence net.

"Dante's Preparation for the Divine Comedy." By W. H. V. Reade, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. 8vo, pp. 32. Price eighteenpence net.

"Notes and Extracts from the Semitic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Part 3: Samaritan Pentateuch MSS., with a description of two codices." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 32, with two facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net.

Other related studies by the same writer, in the same series are :—

1. "Concerning the Abisha Scroll." 1935. Pp. 28.
2. "The Samaritans and the Sabbatic River." 1936. Pp. 28.

"Hand-list of Charters, Deeds, and similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library, 3: Miscellaneous Documents acquired by gift or purchase. With an index of names of persons and places." By Frank Taylor, M.A., Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 96. Price half-a-crown net.

The following list represents a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN :—

ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART: ACHELIS (H.), "Die Katakomben von Neapel" (60 plates), Folio; "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, Danemark 5: Copenhagen: Musée Nationale; Pologne 2: Cracovie," 2 vols. 4to; HUNTINGTON (A. M.), "Initials and Miniatures of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries from the Mozarabic MSS. of Santo Domingo de Silos in the British Museum (New York, 1904)," Folio; JANTZEN (Ulf.), "Bronzeworkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien," 4to; MARTIN (A. R.), "Franciscan Architecture in England," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BELGIUM, "Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays Bas, publiée sous la direction de A. Roersch et V. Tourneur," Liv. 1-213, 8vo; BERLIN,

"Deutscher Gesamtkatalog, Herausgegeben von der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, 1-9," 9 vols., 4to; "ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA de Scienze, Lettere ed Arti," vols. 1-32: A.—Suo, 32 vols., 4to; BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, "Catalogue général des livres imprimés," tomes 1-141: A.—Pourville, 141 vols., 8vo; BORCHLING (C.) and CLAUSSEN (B.), "Niederdeutsche Bibliographie . . . bis zum Jahre 1800," Lief. 1-21, 8vo; BRITISH MUSEUM, "Catalogue of Printed Books. New edition," vols. 1-18: A.—Bible, 18 vols., 4to; CRAIG (A.), "The banned books of England," 8vo; IAMS (T. M.) and BECKWITH (T. D.), "Notes on the causes and prevention of foxing in books," 8vo; LEHMANN-HAUPT (H.), "Das Amerikanische Buchwesen," 8vo; NEWTON (A. E.), "Bibliography and Pseudo-bibliography," 8vo; MAZZATINTI (G.) and SOBRELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritte delle Biblioteche d'Italia," vols. 1-64, 8vo; ZORZANELLO (P.), "L'arte tipografica in Parma dalle origini al Bodoni," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: "The AMERICAN MAGAZINE, or a monthly view of the political state of the British Colonies, reproduced from the original edition, Philadelphia, 1741, with a bibliog. note by L. N. Richardson," 8vo; ANDREWS (C. M.), "The Colonial period of American History," 2 vols., 8vo; BANTU, "The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa: an ethnographical survey, edited by I. Schapera," 8vo; BEACH (Mrs. Hicks), "A Cardinal of the Medici: Ippolito di Medici," 8vo; BELGIUM, "Actes des Comtes de Namur de la première race, 946-1196," 8vo; BILABEL (F.), "Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten," 2 vols., 8vo; BLAKE (Robert), "Letters, together with supplementary documents edited by J. R. Powell (Navy Records Society)," 8vo; BOUNTY, "The log of the *Bounty* in a voyage to the South Seas. Now published for the first time from the MS. in the Admiralty Records . . . by O. Rutter," 2 vols., 8vo; BOLITHO (H.), "King Edward VIII, his life and reign," 8vo; BRISTOL, "The Oversea Trade of Bristol in the later Middle Ages, selected and edited by E. M. Carus-Wilson," 8vo; "BRUT Y BRENHINEDD, Cotton Cleopatra version, edited and translated by J. J. Parry," 8vo; BURN (A. R.), "The world of Hesiod: a study of the

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SHAKESPEARE'S COMEDIES : THE CONSUMMATION.¹

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THIS is the eighth successive year in which I have ventured to make Shakespearian comedy the subject of a Rylands' lecture. So, on this occasion, I will omit all apology, and will merely give you an assurance that if in the future I continue to be honoured by an invitation to lecture to you, the subject will be something other than Shakespeare.

My object to-night is first of all to pull certain loose ends in the series together, and then to try to assess Shakespeare's comic achievement in the group of plays consisting of *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It*, which, with most of those who have written about Shakespeare, I regard as his greatest triumphs in comedy. They are the consummation of a process of growth in the art of comedy the main stages of which it has been our endeavour to indicate to you in the earlier lectures of this series. With them, Shakespearian comedy realises its most perfect form, and therefore in them Shakespeare's comic idea, his vision of the reach of human happiness in this world of men and women, is richer, deeper, more sustained, and more satisfying than in any other of his plays. They embody his surest clue to the secret of man's common and abiding welfare. Being that, they are also, technically speaking, his happiest examples of the characteristically Elizabethan kind of romantic comedy, the plays in which he most fully satisfies the curiously Elizabethan æsthetic demand for a drama which would gratify both the romantic and the comic instincts of its audience.

In claiming so much for this group of plays, I do not forget

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of October, 1936.

that towards the end of his days, in the benevolence of his older age, Shakespeare averted his eyes from the abyss of universal tragedy they had pierced, and, fixing them once more on the springs of human joy, he—or rather the poet in him—saw those benign idylls of human charity, the so-called romances, which we know as his *Cymbeline*, his *Winter's Tale* and his *Tempest*. These romances have obvious affinities with Shakespeare's earlier comedies; they are comedies even more than tragicomedies. Nor could one wish any other valediction to Shakespeare's life's work than is uttered in these. But their benignity must not sentimentalise our judgment into a false appraisal of their dramatic worth. Poetically, they are of great price. As glimpses, too, of the ingrained charitableness, the temperamental gentleness, the serene and benevolent tolerance of Shakespeare the mortal, they are even beyond all æsthetic price. It is easy then to value them wrongly; and Dowden, having grouped the preceding tragedies under the rubric "In the Depths," allures one to the delusive slope by labelling these "On the Heights." But in no sense are they an answer nor even a substantial make-weight to the great tragedies. Shakespeare's vision of the depths of man's suffering, of the essential tragedy of his lot, remains as his deepest insight into human destiny. Yet, though the tragedies abide as Shakespeare's firmest grasp of ultimate truth, unaltered and unanswered by these last romances, there is nevertheless a pleasant recompense, if but a very partial mitigation, in these romances. They are an old man's consolation for the inescapable harshness of man's portion, a compensation which pleases the more because with the coming of age, something of the terror of the things the dramatist in his strength has hitherto seen has been blunted by the weakening in him of his power of imaginative vision. It is touching to the rest of mankind, and even to its philosophers, to find that Shakespeare, having peered more deeply than any other man into the depths of human misery, can yet find some sure promise of joy in the freshness, the innocence, the simplicity of girlhood's unspoilt nature. Miranda, however, and Perdita, and even Imogen are but an old man's consolation. They are a touching hope for the world rather than a certain

pledge of its welfare to be. One remembers how another great dramatist, perhaps the one who alone is comparable with Shakespeare in grasp of mortal misery, Euripides, also found that when all else failed, when mankind in its power and its maturity seemed but to frustrate its own happiness and to will its own woe, there were still children, untainted by custom and experience, who at the mere prompting of native innocence would offer themselves as did Iphigenia to be saviours of their world and so give promise of a not impossible happiness for humanity. It is much that two such seers of mortal tragedy should utter their final faith in the native goodness of mere human nature. But it is literally true that, as its presentation in the motive of the plays runs without complete dramatic conviction, this belief is nothing more than a faith ; it is a faith, too, which seems to imply a heavy bias towards evil in the world of men. Its trust is especially in those who are apart from it rather than in those who by the extent and the variety of their living have inured themselves to human weakness and have thereby become more representative of human life.

To this extent, even the benignity of these last plays is diminished. But the essential truth is that their view of life is less profound and less compelling than the view of it presented either in the tragedies or in the earlier and mature comedies. Though the romances are Shakespeare the man's last words on humanity and on destiny, they are not therefore his profoundest words. The finding of Shakespeare in Prospero, true as it may be, has deluded criticism. There can scarcely be a shadow of doubt that, in the romances, Shakespeare the dramatist is declining in dramatic power. The hand still retains its cunning, the stage-carpenter is still master of his craft, and the poet is still the consummate magician of words. But the dramatist is losing his intuitive sense of the essential stuff of drama, of the impact of man on men and on the things which in the mass make that experience which we call life. *The Winter's Tale*, and most of all in its Leontes, plays with figures who are markedly lacking in the positive identity of personality which would stamp them as recognisably and consistently human. *The Tempest* and *Cymbeline* rely too often on the

depiction of a mood or on the use of a convention as a substitute for the fundamental art of characterisation. These plays have, of course, their own virtue. But there could be no clearer evidence of the weakening of Shakespeare's dramatic genius. For our own particular argument, its most manifest symptom is seen by comparing the heroines of the romances with those of the mature comedies. To set a Perdita or a Miranda by the side of a Rosalind or a Viola is to put a slip of girlhood by the side of women who have grown into the world, become a part of its fabric and enriched their personality by traffic with affairs and with other men and women. For the purposes of comedy, which by its nature seeks to envisage the way to happiness in a material world, the experience of a Viola or of a Rosalind is worth infinitely more than the charming innocence and ignorance of the world which are the peculiar virtue of a Perdita and a Miranda. Let there be no mistake. Shakespeare's last plays, the romances, are rich in such pleasure as none but Shakespeare could provide. But, as comedies, they are of little account. They can and will be omitted from our survey of Shakespearian comedy. For our enquiry, the peak is reached by *Much Ado*, *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It*.

Though these lectures have been separated from each other by a year's interval, they have been planned as steps in a consecutive argument. In the course of that argument, all Shakespeare's comedies have been the subject of more or less lengthy treatment, except *Love's Labour's Lost*, which we take to be Shakespeare's first trial of comedy. The omission was deliberate. Not that *Love's Labour's Lost* can be neglected by the student of Shakespearian comedy. But if our sense of comic values, and of the conditions under which those values came artistically to be revealed and realised, is not very wide of the mark, *Love's Labour's Lost* has small importance in establishing the line along which Shakespeare's comic genius grew. Its value is rather biographical. It lies mainly in what is revealed of Shakespeare's gifts, of his interests and of his aptitudes when he first thrust himself onto the London stage.

But as a last prelude to the assessment of Shakespeare's comedies at their best, it may not be inappropriate—and it will

certainly make for the completeness of our survey—to set down in some detail the qualities and the shortcomings of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Its demonstrable imperfections of form and the measurement of their effect on the dramatic and philosophic worth of the play will illustrate the underlying principles on which our appraisal of the excellence of the mature comedies is based.

Love's Labour's Lost is more like a modern revue, or a musical comedy without music, than a play. It is deficient in plot and in characterisation. There is little story in it. Its situations do not present successive incidents in an ordered plot. Holofernes and Nathaniel could drop out, and yet leave intact the story of the aristocratic lovers. So, too, Armado, although he is allowed to purchase a specious entry at the price of his moral character: his liaison with Jaquenetta brings him into the plot. Even Costard could disappear, for his employment as a bungling postman is a convenient rather than a necessary way of exposing Biron's misdemeanours; equally easily, a supernumerary with a staff could replace Constable Dull. There remain as essential persons for the conduct of the story only the king and his associates and the princess and her ladies. Four men take an oath to segregate themselves from the society of woman for a term of years: circumstance at once compels them to a formal interview with four women: they break their oath. That is the whole story. Complications are avoided. For instance, the tale of four pairs of lovers runs its course without the slightest hint of possible rivalries and jealousies: a theme of such sort would have added intrigue to the story, but would have detracted from the interest in manners. Instead of the variety which the introduction of rivalry would have brought, there is a minor complication arising out of mistakes in identifying the disguised ladies. Clearly a story as simple as this permits of little elaboration in the dramatic plotting of it. The oath is patently absurd. Even private individuals, retiring to a temporary hermitage, make some provision for such emergencies as may befall in their absence: but here is a king who runs away from public life on a hare-brain scheme without even so much foresight as to appoint a deputy who might

inform enquirers that his present address is unknown. The taking of such an oath as the king propounds is refractory dramatic material. In the play, it is managed with as much skill as is possible. Biron is allowed to make fun of its absurdity, and to be first moved to bind himself by it only as a joke, whilst, more seriously, he assures himself of a safe means to come out of it by a verbal quibble. But the vow promises little compensation in the way of dramatic suspense. Clearly it must be broken, and the only interest aroused is in the manner of the breach. All four men might forswear themselves in chorus, and have done with it : but by letting each lover try to hide his lapse from his fellows, a way is made for progressive revelations in the one scene of the play which is really diverting as a dramatic situation. It is the only scene strictly belonging to the story which is really dramatic, that is, a scene in which what the actors are doing is as engrossing as what they are saying, and where the situation in which they act and speak gives definite point to the whole. There are other scenes in which the actions and the words contribute equally to the theatrical interest ; for example, that in which the men are led to a wrong identification of the masqued ladies ; but they are accidental to the working out of the story, not really different in kind from the pageants, the masques, and the dances which make the padding of the play.

But the worst consequences of the poverty of the story appear in the persons who perform it. The four courtiers could not but resemble each other in a wooden conformity ; for they have all to do the same sort of thing, and have all to be guilty of an act of almost incredible stupidity. To have attempted human differentiations would have been to explore a world of the spirit where deep-rooted passions, conflicting instincts, and complex promptings mould distinctive personalities : and thereby to have made the oath-taking humanly impossible. Hence the courtiers in the play lack personality, and are equally without typical character of the human sort. They have manners, and beyond that, nothing but wit. Hence when an older Shakespeare, revising the play of his youth, came again to its end, he despatched his Biron to a suffering world that thereby he might attain a tincture of humanity. Whilst, in the earlier version, the King

is relegated for a twelvemonth to a hermitage, and Biron to a hospital merely as a penance, the later sentence converts the penance to an act of social service, from day to day visiting the speechless sick, conversing with groaning wretches for the specific object of forcing the pained impotent to smile. Only so may wit acquire sympathy and count itself human.

To the eye, at all events, the ladies of *Love's Labour's Lost* are a little more individualised than are the men; for, being ladies, the colour of the hair and the texture of the skin are indispensable items in the inventory. A whitely wanton with a velvet skin will not be confused with another of a dark complexion, nor with one so auburn-haired that she stands apart like the red dominical letter on a calendar. Yet under the skin, these ladies are as empty and as uniform as are their wooers. So when Katharine says that she had a sister who died of love, she is accused by all the commentators of speaking out of her part, for no one in this play was ever related so closely as that to the world of real grief. Biron and Rosaline are frequently said to have something of essential individuality. But in effect, it is only that more of them is seen than of their associates. Biron has indeed more wit and perspicuity than have his fellows. But it is a possession which is dramatically more of an encumbrance than an asset. To save his reputation for wit, he is allowed to expound the absurdity of the oath before it is sworn; thus his subscription to it is doubly fantastic; it is entirely without reasonable motive. Moreover, his scoffs at love and his rhapsodies on its virtues are apparently at hazard, and he passes from the one condition to the other without a trace of conflict in his nature. Rosaline, dramatically, is in equal plight. To justify her supremacy in wit, she has no time to be anything but witty. There is apparently neither sentiment nor passion in her nature, and without these she will scarcely be taken as a human creature. Like the rest of the courtiers, she is a figure sporting in a world of fantasy where words are meat and drink, and where wit alone is law and conscience.

Of course, in dress and gait and feature, these lords and ladies are as much like man or woman as is any he or she who

passes in the street. Armado, on the other hand, will never be encountered in the walks of daily life. Yet there is in him more truth to human nature than in all the court society. He has no more claim to personality than have they, but he has more dramatic substance. He belongs to a race long established in the tradition of comedy. He is at first a type of all vainglorious claimants to gentility, whose title-deeds are but excessive adoration of the tricks of fashion's choicest etiquette. No single member of his species was ever so extravagant as he : but he is a caricature and not a portrait. His features are strained to comprehend the limits of his type. Unfortunately, however, the singularity of fashion he affects tends to obscure the family traits he exhibits. He dwindles eventually from the stock-type of the pretender to gentility into a sheer oddity whose idiosyncrasy is merely that of minting fire-new words. In a play like *Love's Labour's Lost*, fashion's own knight has little chance of showing his chivalry and his new-devised courtesies except in lexicographical exploits.

Holofernes, Nathaniel, and Dull are smaller figures and are less involved in the stream of the play, and hence there is nothing to distort their features from the type. They give the play its footing on the earth, for here at last are men as Warwickshire has known them. Dull is twice-sod simplicity to the life. Holofernes has all the attributes of his profession. He seizes each mellowing occasion to patronise his fellows by a display of learning, disgorging from the ventricle of memory ill-digested grammatical scraps of his diet of ink and paper. He has a genius for making his little learning go a long way : a Latin phrase and a professionally dogmatic manner have made him in his own locality the undisputed arbiter of poetry, wit, and invention.

Nathaniel is a masterpiece in miniature. Every line expresses both his native quality and his professional habit. He improves every occasion by a thanksgiving, in which the voice of the curate appropriately phrases his pennyworth of gratitude for a full stomach and a void mind. He has the art of accepting benefits of patronage from his superiors in status or in learning in such a way that the patron is gratified and the recipient suffers no loss of prestige. He snaps up a fine phrase for next week's

sermon. The man, and his calling, and his place both in his congregation and amongst his associates, are all revealed in his praise for Holofernes' "reasons at dinner". He is grateful to Holofernes for the dinner; he is impressed by the schoolmaster's superior intellect, and he pays his tribute in terms which have just enough of admiring deference to please Holofernes, but not so much as to deprive them of authoritative impressiveness to the vulgar, and which yet have nothing at all in them more substantial than platitudinous common-place.

But the most considerable character of them all is Costard, the unlettered, small-knowing, blundering hind. By sheer lack of every rational gift, he is immune from diseases which are epidemic in the play. Wit and words are not for him, unless, like spades and poles, they make for his immediate and material welfare. If "remuneration" is three farthings, it is well to have it, and its worth is just elevenpence farthing less than that of "guerdon." The wit which knocks a rival down is a ponderable possession equivalent at least to a pennyworth of gingerbread, but for the rest, it may be cast to the almsbasket. Horse-sense and mother-wit are sufficient for Costard. His horse-sense smells out his advantage, and his mother-wit secures it. When he fasts it is on a full stomach. No occasion overcomes his imperturbability. His stupidity is proof against all shocks. Neither king nor courtier daunts him, and, airily misunderstanding, he dismisses himself with credit from the court. More consummate is his complacent patronage of Nathaniel when the curate fails in the show of the Worthies:

a conqueror, and afeard to speak! run away for shame, Alisaunder. There, an't shall please you; a foolish mild man; an honest man, look you, and soon dashed. He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler: but, for Alisaunder,—alas, you see how 'tis,—a little o'erparted.

This is not mere brag, for Costard justifies his superiority by proving the best Worthy of them all. He will decline to be pushed aside when the intellectual substance of the play is being sought.

No profound apprehension of life will be expected from *Love's Labour's Lost*. That a flagrantly absurd vow will be

broken is a proposition too self-evident to call for substantiation. Its reason is as patent as is Moth's deduction that when a man grows melancholy it is a sign that he will look sad. The story of the making and the breaking of the vow needs but to be shown to the eye. For anything deeper than mere observation of the surface of life, there is neither room nor need. The imagination is not called upon to reveal powers working in the deeps, silently controlling the currents on the face of the waters. Moreover, the surface here displayed is that of so remote a backwater that to reveal in it the operation of the great ocean-tides of life would be well-nigh impossible. Of apprehension of life in the dramatic way, therefore, there can be very little ; but of opinion prompted by the dramatists' observation of living men there may be much. The course of an action which shows that foolish men are guilty of folly, that the best way to the back-gate is not over the house-top, that we cannot cross the cause why we were born, will hardly excite its author's passions to flashes of inspired insight.

So much and so little was Shakespeare when he began. Superficially, there are resemblances between *Love's Labour's Lost* and the three plays to which we now finally turn. The interest in all of them is in lovers, and especially in their wooing. The main characters are aristocrats, young, witty, and often either poetic or sentimental. There is also in all of these plays another stratum of *dramatis personæ*, lower in the social scale, and cast mainly to play the part of ' low ' comedians. But whilst *Love's Labour's Lost* is merely a verbal display and a stage spectacle, the later comedies have been forged into a vital organism which embodies a distinctive and coherent apprehension of life. They are dramatic representations of the comic idea. They are an artist's creation, original and distinctive. Formally, they are the full realisation of a novel dramatic kind ; substantially, they are the projection of an artist's ripest wisdom.

It is easy to make this claim ; but far less easy to substantiate it. When an artist reaches the consummation of his achievement, there is left for most of us, who have seen and heard, little but to consider and bow the head. Especially does a mere scholar find his critical acumen inadequate to the task of expressing precisely what is the supreme virtue of these comic

masterpieces. At most, he can hope that the tracing, as in our previous lectures, of the course along which Shakespeare was heading for his triumph, may have prompted a manner of thinking which listeners can complete in their own way. Yet, though he knows the impossibility of the task, he must make some attempt to put his sense of Shakespeare's final comic achievement into words.

On a purely and superficially formal consideration, it is remarkable that these mature plays seem to exhibit little progress in such external things as plotcraft and dramatic illusive-ness when set beside Shakespeare's earlier experiments in comedy. *Much Ado* is so informal that it makes its sub-plot much more significant than its nominally main plot. *Twelfth Night* builds itself formally on circumstances like those of *A Comedy of Errors*, and even increases the theatrical improbability of all plays of mistaken identity by adding sex-disguise to make stage-illusion still more difficult. *As You Like It* gratuitously imports lions into the forest of Arden; it trades as extensively as *Twelfth Night* in sex-disguise, and it rounds off its action with a hastier and even less suitable marriage than is that of Olivia and Sebastian. But the appearance of casualness in plotcraft is delusory. These plays are held together, not by the nexus of external circumstance, but by the coherence of their spiritual substance. Their apparent diversity is moulded into unity by what Coleridge would have called an esemplastic power. They are the unified shape of an embodied idea, the representation of a created world which has become an organic universe because its every operation manifests the universality of its own proper laws.

To see these plays as a form of comedy, it is perhaps easiest to begin by realising that in kind they are essentially and obviously different from traditional classical comedy. Their main characters arouse admiration; they excite neither scorn nor contempt. They inspire us to be happy with them; they do not merely cajole us into laughing at them. Therein lies the fundamental difference between classical and Shakespearian comedy. Classical comedy is conservative. It implies a world which has reached stability sufficient for itself. Its members are assumed to be fully aware of the habits and the morals which

preserve an already attained state of general well-being. The main interest is the exposure of offenders against common practice and against unquestioned propriety in the established fitness of things. Hence, its manner is satire, and its standpoint is public common sense. But Shakespearian comedy is a more venturesome and a more imaginative undertaking. It does not assume that the conditions and the requisites of man's welfare have been certainly established, and are therefore a sanctity only to be safeguarded. It speculates imaginatively on modes, not of preserving a good already reached, but of enlarging and extending the possibilities of this and other kinds of good. Its heroes (or heroines, to give them the dues of their sex) are voyagers in pursuit of a happiness not yet attained, a brave new world wherein man's life may be fuller, his sensations more exquisite and his joys more widespread, more lasting, and so more humane. But as the discoverer reaches this higher bliss, he (or rather she) is making his conquests in these realms of the spirit accessible not only to himself but to all others in whom he has inspired the same way of apprehending existence. He has not merely preserved the good which was ; he has refined, varied, and widely extended it. Hence Shakespearian comedy is not finally satiric ; it is poetic. It is not conservative ; it is creative. The way of it is that of the imagination rather than that of pure reason. It is an artist's vision, not a critic's exposition.

But though the ultimate world of Shakespeare's comedy is romantic, poetic, and imaginative, it is by no means unsubstantial and fantastic. The forest of Arden is no conventional Arcadia. Its inhabitants are not exempt from the penalty of Adam. Winter, rough weather, the season's differences, the icy fang and churlish chiding of the winter's wind invade Arden as often as they invade this hemisphere of ours. Nor does manna fall to it from heaven. One may come by a sufficient sustenance of flesh, if one has the weapons and the impulse to make a breach in the conventionality of idyllic Nature by killing its own creatures, the deer, to whom the forest is the assigned and native dwelling-place. Arden, too, is not ignorant of the earthly landlordism which cramps the labourers' life with harshness :

My master is of churlish disposition
And little reckes to find the way to heaven
By doing deeds of hospitality.

And, after all, pastoral life in Arden is merely episodic in the round of man's fuller existence: "when I was at home, I was in a better place." Rosalind and Orlando will return to live their adult life in the society of man and in a civilisation which will impose on them the duties of extended social responsibilities. Only by hearsay is life in Arden reputed to be a fleeting time carelessly as they did in the golden age; even young Orlando knows that it may be a losing and a neglecting of the creeping hours. Arden, indeed, may properly excite the witticisms of Touchstone by its rusticities; it may arouse the twisted sentimentalism of Jaques by its Darwinian illustrations of the cruel struggle for survival.

But Arden survives. It survives as an immeasurable enlargement of the universe of comedy. No longer is the comic spirit confined to the city and to the market-place. And not only is there Arden. There is Illyria. There are the vast expanses of a less known world; romantic countries on whose coasts all the strange and stirring episodes that man has dreamed may come true: shipwreck, piracy, warfare, marvellous escapes from imminent death, hazards boldly and even recklessly encountered. Or, may be, lands of *dolce far niente*, where music is the food of love, where corporeal and material exigencies offer no impediment to man's grasp at the opulence of a merely sentimental existence. In such a climate, a duke may wallow orientally in the luxuriance of sheer sensuous excitement: but, in the same air, the witchcraft of adventure will strike from a simple ship's captain a nobility of benevolence which will sacrifice all for another's good.

"This is the air, this is the glorious sun." But it is not only in its geographical atmosphere that the world of these comedies is so vastly larger than that of classical comedy, so much more radiant than that of Shakespeare's earlier romantic comedies, and so much more rich than that of Falstaff's Eastcheap. In its own turn, the world of the spirit has been equally extended. As one obvious sign of it, man has become more

exquisitely conscious of music. Of course, there has always been a human impulse for caterwauling ; and, in their cups, men have commonly felt themselves to be such dogs at a catch that they could rouse the night-owl and make the welkin dance. But it is in these great plays that men are suddenly brought up against the stupendous and apparently incredibly foolish circumstance that sheep's guts are potent to hale the souls out of their bodies.

There had, of course, always been music in Elizabethan plays. It was hallowed by their earliest tradition. In daily life, too, an Elizabethan, whether nobleman or peasant, had found music as much an habitual part of his occupation as was eating or drinking or working.

O, fellow, come, the song we had last night.
Mark it, Cesario, it is old and plain ;
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
Do use to chant it.

It is not only that song and music irradiate these plays—the very clown of one of them has almost lost his clownage to qualify as a singer—the important point is that the men and women of the play, and Shakespeare and his audience, are becoming conscious of what the spell of music implies. ‘That strain again’ ; these old and antique songs were apt to arouse amorousness in Orsino and yet “to relieve him of his passion much”. To recognise the palpable effect of music was the first step : to become aware of its implications was another. In men's secular lives, music ministered most powerfully to their passion of love. “If music be the food of love, play on.” And so they found themselves at the very heart of the mystery, the recognition that, however strange, sheep's guts did in fact hale their souls out of their bodies. They were feelingly aware that the soul is susceptible to strange and unaccountable impulses, and that, responding to them, it enters a rich and novel spiritual kingdom.

What this means for the purposes of Shakespearian comedy is this. Man had discovered that he was a much less rational and a much more complex creature than he had taken himself to be. His instincts and his intuitions, his emotions and his

moods were as real and as distinctive a part of him as his reason and his plain common sense. There were, in fact, a much more incalculable yet often a much more exciting and satisfying part of his nature than was his sober intellect. Man was rediscovering the validity of his intuitions and of his emotions ; he was, in particular, and for the express purposes of comedy, becoming intellectually aware that the tumultuous condition of his being which followed his falling in love and urged him on to woo, was in fact no mean and mainly physical manifestation of his personality ; it was, in fact, the awakening in him of the fuller capacities of his spirit.

So, amongst the themes of Elizabethan comedy, love had now justified its primacy. It had willy nilly always been the major interest. But, as the earlier comedies have shown, its usurpations had been hazardous for the spirit of comedy. It had hitherto forced itself into a Pyrrhic triumph as an alien invader backed only by the forces of popular preference. It could now rightly take its place in Elizabethan comedy as the recognised presiding genius. It was the touchstone by which fine spirits were struck to their finest issues. It was also, of course, a test by which weaker mortals revealed their weakness, grosser ones their grossness, and foolish ones their folly. It is noteworthy, however, that though these three great comedies are even more exclusively the plays of lovers and their wooing than are the earlier ones, seldom does Shakespeare allow their wooing to express itself in the full gamut of its lyric modulations. Its utterance is adapted to a dramatic, and, indeed, to a comic scene : depth of affection is displayed rather by hints and by deeds than by the conventional phrase of the love poet. The homily of love from its gentle pulpits is felt to be tedious, and is seldom allowed to weary its hearers. Often, indeed, when the wooing itself is an extended episode of the story, it is camouflaged in circumstances shaped by the wooers to cover their real passion. Beatrice and Benedick deliberately adopt a kind of inverted technique of love-making ; and for them, the normal idiom of lovers is feigned by others so as to be overheard by the two who are to be the victims of the device. Rosalind, disguised as Ganymede, pretends to be herself in order to teach Orlando

to woo. Viola expresses her own love only by innuendo, and finds a sort of outlet for her inhibition, as well as a gratification for her own sense of restraint, in unfolding to Olivia the passion of the Duke's love, as if hallooing her name to the reverberate hills to make the babbling gossip of the air cry out "Olivia". But having done this, Viola will find it easier to be her natural self. "I took great pains to study it, and 'tis poetical." In the throes of her own love, she will revert to sanity.

Indeed, deeply as these heroines fall in love, no person in the plays is more aware of the follies into which love may delude its victims. It is Rosalind who reproves the foolish shepherd Silvius for following Phoebe like foggy south puffing with wind and rain :

'tis such fools as you
That make the world full of ill-favoured children.

But she will advise silly giddy-brained Phebe to go down on her knees and thank heaven fasting for a good man's love. Lunacy and love are yet not entirely different diseases. "Love is merely a madness, and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do : and the reason why they are not so punished and cured is, that the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too." Madness, but inevitable madness : and a madness in which the visions are a mingling of revelation and of hallucination. Who shall know which is which ? Who better than the one who knows most of the frequency of hallucination ? Rosalind is well aware of what may be falsely claimed for love, so well aware that she can make mock of the possibilities : "the poor world is almost six thousand years old, and in all this time there was not any man died in his own person, videlicet, in a love cause. Troilus had his brains dashed out with a Grecian club ; yet he did what he could to die before, and he is one of the patterns of love. Leander, he would have lived many a fair year, though Hero had turned nun, if it had not been for a hot midsummer night ; for, good youth, he went but forth to wash him in the Hellespont and being taken with the cramp was drowned : and the foolish chroniclers of that age found it was 'Hero of Sestos'. But these are all lies : men have died from time to time and worms have eaten them, but

not for love." Yet there is no wrestling with Rosalind's affections, when they take the part of the man with whom she has fallen desperately and suddenly in love.

Rosalind, Viola, and, to a less extent, Beatrice, are Shakespeare's images of the best way of love. They, and the men in whom they inspire love, are Shakespeare's representation of the office of love to lift mankind to a richer life. So, by the entry into it of love, not only has the world of these comedies become a bigger world: the men and women who inhabit it have become finer and richer representatives of human nature. They have entered into the possession of spiritual endowments which, if hitherto suspected to exist at all, had either been distrusted as dangerous or had become moribund through desuetude. They have claimed the intuitive, the sub-conscious, and the emotional as instruments by which personality may bring itself into a fuller consciousness of and a completer harmony with the realities of existence. They have left Theseus far behind; they have also outgrown Falstaff.

But if the new world of these mature comedies is one of which Falstaff could never have attained the mastery, there is yet room in it for much even of the corporeal and for all of the immortal parts of him. He is relegated, however, to his proper place therein. Perhaps Sir Toby is as much of him as will survive a final approbation. To both Toby and Falstaff, care is the chief enemy of life; its main sustenance is capons and canary. Their values are much the same: Falstaff's deepest contempt is for a brewer's horse; Sir Toby's symbol of a world without life is an unfilled can. Both live by their wits, deluding the gullible into disbursing. "Let's to bed, knight; thou hadst need send for money." But if Toby never attains the plenitude of Falstaff's dominion, at least he escapes rejection, and achieves ultimately a more settled survival. He lives on under the leading or misleading strings of Maria: and, characteristically, this is a kindly fate into which he was inveigled by his admiration for the devilry of Maria's wit. It is Toby, too, who puts into words the most pertinent principle which can be propounded in defence of the Falstaffian life, a principle which goes beyond the mere assertion of high spirits and acclaims the

cordial law of tolerance : " because thou art virtuous, shall there be no more cakes and ale ? "

But the acceptance of Toby as an integral part of the ideal world of romantic comedy does not fully indicate how much of the essential virtue of Falstaff Shakespeare, after the antipathy of his dark comedies, endeavoured to find permanently serviceable to humanity. For Toby has not the full measure of Falstaff's wit. Perhaps Beatrice of *Much Ado* is Shakespeare's completest picture of the way in which sheer wit may serve the cause of human sanity in human society and thereby extend the scope of its possible happiness. But whereas it is only Falstaff's wit which prompts him sportingly to plead instinct as a final protection, it is the complete surrender of wit and the actual resort to instinct which makes Beatrice the instrument of happiness in the crucial moment of the plot of *Much Ado*. Still, it may well be that in the make-up of Beatrice, allying the exercise of wit with the innate geniality of a disposition born under a star which laughed, Shakespeare was giving such intellectual agility as was Falstaff's its opportunity to display how much of real human good it was capable of effecting. But even Beatrice—and we take her to have been grafted by Shakespeare on to an earlier play of his own which thus became *Much Ado*—even Beatrice has not grown into the full liberality of Rosalind's and Viola's humanity, close as her birth must have been to theirs. She is the direct counterpart of Helena, and perhaps her next successor : and she in turn was followed almost at once by Rosalind and Viola.

Technically, the most remarkable achievement of Beatrice is that, with hardly anything at all to do in what is nominally the main plot, she nevertheless becomes the chief figure of the piece, and the primary instigator of the sentiment which leads to the happy solution of the story. She is a lively symbol of the new state of affairs in the domain of comedy. The hero has been dethroned, losing not only his rank but something also of personality ; he has been replaced by the heroine. It is a commonplace that the main men of these comedies are but pygmies compared in stature with the heroines. Moreover, these ladies are not only the heroines in the material and formal

sense that they have most of the scenes of the play. They are heroines in the sense that they provide the efficient force which resolves the dilemma of the play into happiness. That happiness is palpably a state of affairs which, in so far as it springs from human effort, is specifically an outcome of their making.

Nor is it difficult to see the virtue by which they are the bringers of so much joy. Shakespeare's enthronement of woman as queen of comedy is no mere accident, and no mere gesture of conventional gallantry. Because they are women, these heroines have attributes of personality fitting them more certainly than men to shape the world towards happiness. His menfolk, a Hamlet or a Macbeth or an Othello, may have a subtler intellect, a more penetrating imagination, or a more irresistible passion. But what they have more largely in one kind of personal endowment, they own only at the expense of other properties no less essential to the encountering of such varied circumstances as are presented by the act of living. These heroes, in effect, are out of harmony with themselves, and so are fraught with the certainty of tragic doom. Their personality is a mass of mighty forces out of equipoise : they lack the balance of a durable spiritual organism. It was in women that Shakespeare found this equipoise, this balance which makes personality in action a sort of ordered interplay of the major components of human nature. In his women, hand and heart and brain were fused in a vital and practicable union, each contributing to the other, no one of them permanently pressing demands to the detriment of the other, yet each asserting itself periodically to exercise its vitality, even if the immediate effect be a temporary disturbance of equilibrium, for not otherwise would they be potent to exercise their proper function when the whole of their owner's spiritual nature is struck into activity. Perhaps it was primarily because Shakespeare found women more sensitive to intuition and more responsive to emotion that he first promoted them to dominion in the realm of comedy. He found, moreover, in their instincts a kind of finely developed mother-wit, a variety of humanised common sense which, because it was impregnated with humane feeling, was more apt to lay hold of the essential realities of existence than was the more rarified and isolated intellect of

man. But, though it was what to this extent may be called their essential femininity which gave his heroines their first claims to rulership in comedy, Shakespeare insisted in his maturest comedies that all the qualities which his heroines owed to the promptings of intuition and instinct were only certainly beneficent in human affairs when instinct and intuition were guided by a mind in which a sublimated common sense had established itself as the habitual director of action and behaviour.

It is unnecessary here to attempt to describe these heroines one by one, or even to name in detail all their generic traits. It will be enough to indicate one or two of their characteristic virtues. They have all the gift of inspiring and of returning affection. They have the good will of all who know them. They are simply human and patently natural in their response to emotional crises like that of falling in love. Rosalind's excitement when she first meets Orlando is as palpable as are her transparent endeavours to hide it. Their own passion still further sharpens the affection through which they seek the good of others. Once they are conscious of their own desire they are master-hands in reaching it. Rosalind is the main plotter of the flight to Arden; it is she who devises the means of ensuring Orlando's frequent company. Viola resolves at once to remedy her lot by taking service with the Duke; and immediately becomes his confidant and his private minister. She overcomes all the ceremonial obstacles which bar access to Olivia, using, when need be, the bluster and the rudeness which she learns from her opponents. She seizes a situation on the instant; and even when the outcome is not clearly to be foreseen, she acts in a manner which will save unnecessary suffering to others: "she took the ring of me," is her lie to Malvolio, guessing at once how the distraught Olivia had tried to hide her device from her steward and messenger. In crises, all of them, Rosalind, Viola, and Beatrice, are guided by intuitive insight. Beatrice acclaims Hero's innocence in the face of damning evidence. Viola judges her ship's captain by the same inner vision, and she confides in him implicitly. Yet the instinct and the intuition are always open-eyed and cautiously safeguarded against mere casual vagary or whimsical sentimentality. When Viola judges

the captain's worth by his fair and outward character, she remembers that nature with a beauteous wall doth oft close in pollution. Rosalind and Celia are equally immune from this wide-spread romantic fallacy. They know that there is no certain and predictable relation between beauty and honesty in mankind: they would have laughingly recommended all the Tennysonian moralists of their day, who thought beauty to be either truth or virtue, to stroll through the equivalent of their West End after the theatres were shut and when the restaurants were coming to the end of their cabarets. Yet, with all the efficiency and savoir faire of which these heroines prove themselves to be possessed, they are amazingly modest. It is this modesty which prevents them from endeavouring to compass what is beyond mortal reach. Fortune, they know, is but a blind worker; and she doth most mistake in her gifts to woman. Viola undoubtedly is confident, but not over-confident: she will do what she can, but

O time! thou must entangle this, not I;
It is too hard a knot for me to untie.

And Rosalind never forgets how full of briers is this work-a-day world. But in the end, they triumph; and they triumph because they are just what they are, the peculiar embodiment in personality of those traits of human nature which render human beings most loveable, most loving, and most serviceable to the the general good.

But these ladies are not only doers and inspirers of action. Merely by their presence in the play, they serve as standards whereby degrees of worth and worthlessness in other characters are made manifest. Hence the rich variety of theme, of episode, and of person in these plays is knit together and holds as a coherent structure. The beneficence of emotion and of intuition is no wise belittled by the revelation of the follies which spring from feeling in less stable creatures than are the heroines. So, *Twelfth Night* is largely occupied with the disclosure of unbalanced sentiment. There is the enervating sentimentality of Orsino, there is the unrestrained emotionalism of Olivia. *As You Like It* handles an allied theme by its exposure of merely conventional pastoralism. Indeed, once the positive

construction of their larger world has been effected by the heroines, there is now place, not only for their own safeguards for it, such as this perpetual alertness to expose the dangers of unbalanced sentiment, there is also place for the sort of direct satire and the forthright comicality which were the manner of the older classical tradition. Just as Sir Toby finds his station in *Twelfth Night*, so do Andrew and even Malvolio; there, in Andrew's case, simply to display his own foolish inanity as do the witless in all sorts of comedy; and in Malvolio's, to enter almost as Jonson gave his characters entry, for a more subtle but still classical kind of discomfiture. As Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*, so Jaques in *As You Like It*, another of the few attempts of Shakespeare to project malcontentism for comic purposes. Besides these, traditional clowns may now also play their part, whether the English Shakespearian ones of the tribe of Bottom, such as Dogberry and Verges, or the more technical ones, Feste and Touchstone, grown now by contact with natural Costards into something more substantial and more homely than the mere traditional corrupters of words, and therefore playing not the part of an added funny interlude, but an essential rôle in the orientation of the idea of comedy. "Since the little wit that fools have was silenced, the little foolery that wise men have makes a great show." The true fool's return is restorative. A fool of his sort will use his folly like a stalking-horse, and under the presentation of that, will shoot his wit. Yet his range will necessarily be limited now. Only the crassest folly falls to such arrows, for those who have become expert in human traffickings can assume an easy indifference to simple and direct hits :

He that a fool doth very wisely hit
Doth very foolishly, although he smart,
Not to seem senseless of the bob ; if not,
The wise man's folly is anatomized
Even by the squandering glances of the fool.

Thus the motley of romantic comedies is subtler than the slap-dash skittle-knocking of the satire in classical comedy. Their reformatory way, too, is fundamentally different from the simple exposure of ludicrous abnormality which had been the approved

manner of older comedy. They entice to a richer wisdom by alluring the imagination into desire for larger delights. They are not mainly concerned to whip offenders into conventional propriety by scorn and by mockery. They persuade one to the better state by presenting it in all its attractiveness : they depict a land of heart's desire, and, doing that, reveal the way of human and natural magic by which it is to be attained.

Hence, in the last resort, the greatness of these greatest of Shakespeare's comedies will be measured by the profundity and the persuasiveness of the apprehension of life which they embody, by the worth, that is, of their underlying worldly wisdom. What then is this comic idea of which these plays are the dramatic revelation ?

Something of the answer has already been given in estimating the characteristics of the heroines. But the conclusions may be made more general : in the first place, however, it must be noted that though these romantic comedies break through the traditional scope of classical comedy, their sphere is still rigorously confined within the proper orbit of comedy. They limit themselves to acquaintance with life here and now ; the world, and not eternity, is their stage. It is, of course, a world presenting many more woeful pageants than comedy is capable of transmuting to happiness : and comedy must confine itself to those threats of fate and those rubs of circumstance which can be reconciled with man's reach for assured joy in living. In these ripest of Shakespeare's comedies, comedy is seeking in its own artistic way to elucidate the moral art of securing happiness by translating the stubbornness of fortune into a quiet and a sweet existence.

It finds that this art comes most easily to those who by nature are generous, guiltless, and of a free disposition, just, indeed, as are Shakespeare's heroines. It finds the art crippled, if not destroyed, in those who lack the genial sense of fellowship with mankind. A Malvolio, sick of self-love, thanking God that he is not of the element of his associates, sees the rest of men merely as specimens of the genus 'homo,'—"why, of mankind". The springs of sympathy are dried up within him. He becomes merely a time-server, planning only for his own selfish gain. The aptitude to do this successfully had been a positive asset

to the earlier, even to the Falstaffian, kind of comic hero. But now, in the radiance of these maturer plays, it is seen in truer light. Malvolio has lost the art of life ; his very genius is infected.

The corruption of man by the coldness of his blood and the stifling of his sense of brotherhood is seen even more clearly in Oliver and in Don John : it is the source of their villainy. Don John lives only to gratify his own antipathies. Not only is he without desire to do good to others ; he prefers the delight of increasing their woes. " I wonder that thou, being, as thou sayest thou art, born under Saturn, goest about to apply a moral medicine to a mortifying mischief." His spirit toils in nothing but in frame of villainies. Even Jaques has been corrupted into superciliousness by cultivating superiority and habituating himself to contemplative mockery and polite persiflage. He patronises humanity ; but there is no love. He thinks he knows himself and the world ; but, perhaps because he fled from both to purge himself of his earlier sensuality and his libertinage, his knowledge is superficial, impressive no doubt to the hearers by its philosophic seeming, but inadequate in its findings and distorted in its values. His psycho-analytic formula of his own melancholy is nothing but the covering up of moral deficiency by a pseudo-scientific explanation of it, an excellent prototype of a habit which has increased vastly in popularity. His compendious summary of the seven ages of man is seen to be grossly inaccurate when its heartlessness is immediately followed by the breaking into the scene of Orlando and Adam : for there is no place for either of these in Jaques's catalogue. Charity and gratitude are beyond his comprehension : " well then, if ever I thank any man, I'll thank you ; but that they call compliment is like the encounter of two dog-apes, and when a man thanks me heartily, methinks I have given him a penny and he renders me the beggarly thanks." Here, indeed, is the deepest root of human evil : the most outstanding feature of the moral valuation of human worth in these comedies is its departure from almost all accredited codes of conduct in its relative lenience towards crime and even vice in comparison with its condemnation of ingratitude :

I hate ingratitude more in a man
Than lying, vainness, babbling, drunkenness,
Or any taint of vice whose strong corruption
Inhabits our frail blood.

This, indeed, is the very heart of Shakespeare's humanism. So, with all his vaunt of wisdom, Jaques is less aware of the things which really are than is the simple-minded Corin. Corin is, in fact, a profounder philosopher than is Jaques: "hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?" "No more but that I know the more one sickens the worse at ease he is; and that he that wants money, means and content, is without three good friends; that the property of rain is to wet and fire to burn; that good pasture makes fat sheep, and that a great cause of the night is lack of the sun; that he that hath learned no wit by nature nor art may complain of good breeding or comes of a very dull kindred."

Such a natural philosophy is adequate to more than the forest of Arden. A Touchstone may be only partly pleased with what he gets there, even with Audrey. A native born in its woods may find that trouble enters not so much with the encounter of winter and rough weather and other such natural enemies, but rather with the complications of its human relationships: but perhaps even Silvius is no more a real denizen of Arden than is Phebe. Living is, indeed, not a colloquising with oneself on the top of Helvellyn, nor an exploring of the ultimate nature of matter in a laboratory. It is the setting up of harmonious and beneficent relationships with human beings. It is an active membership in the society of man. That, at all events, is what life is taken to be in Shakespeare's comedies. Of all virtues, that which best promotes its well-being is the passion for serving the world, the instinct for sacrifice in the cause of the general good, or, rather, for the good of Tom and Dick and Harry, of Maud, Bridget, Marian, Cicely, Gillian and Ginn. Shakespeare's heroines seek what they want for themselves, but, securing it, they give joy to others. They are not deliberate philanthropists; they are only being their spontaneous selves when they instinctively proffer kindness to others. Paper-policies of virtue, theories of right and wrong, play no part

in the active goodness of Shakespeare's nobler figures. Abstract propositions formulated in mere words are a false moral coinage : their currency is not even valid in their own home country. "Every one can master grief but he that has it." Purely intellectual convictions do not avail even their professors : men

Can counsel and speak comfort to that grief
Which they themselves not feel ; but, tasting it,
Their counsel turns to passion, which before
Would give preceptual medicine to rage,
Fetter strong madness in a silken thread,
Charm ache with air and agony with words :
No, no ; 'tis all men's office to speak patience
To those that wring under the load of sorrow,
But no man's virtue nor sufficiency
To be so moral when he shall endure
The like himself.

For there was never yet philosopher

That could endure the toothache patiently,
However they have writ the style of gods
And made a push at chance and sufferance.

For men are flesh and blood : we are all mortal ; and man is a giddy thing. Yet he is much more the matter through which our happiness is to be earned than are the natural or the material objects in our environment. Hence the foundation of all lasting pleasure is the gift of intuitive sympathy, and the habit of forbearance and of tolerance. In the finest spirits, those who create more happiness than they receive, these instincts will be consecrated to the constant service of the world, where service sweats for duty, not for meed, or where the meed is but the unsought spontaneous joy of well-doing.

But a caveat must here be entered. Shakespeare's heroes and heroines are not sworn crusaders for universal regeneration. They are not idealists swept along in a surge of philanthropic sentiment. They are, in the last resort, as unswervingly conscious of the obligations of common sense as ever hero of comedy was. But in them it is a faculty which is nourished by so much more of their personality than was Falstaff's. It still requires them, as it required him, and as it requires all comic heroes, to know exactly what the world is and what

man is, rather than what one might dream they ought to be. These heroines know the world as unerringly as did Falstaff. The fundamental sanity of Beatrice is that she can see a church by daylight. All of them recognise the immutable conditions of human existence : an hour after nine o'clock, it is ten o'clock, and after one hour more 'twill be eleven.

But knowing the world no less securely than did Falstaff, they know the more important phases of its experience so much better. They have discovered the mystery of man. Their knowledge gives them a truer estimate of the extent to which there is fixity in the conditions of existence ; they discover a freedom within its limits hitherto undreamed of. An hour after nine o'clock it undubitably is ten o'clock, and sixty minutes are an unalterable and unvarying measure of time. But "time travels in divers paces with divers persons". One man's hour is another man's minute. There are even moments, sure though seldom, worth the whole course of a lifetime.

To recognise this is not to defy the authority of common sense. It is to account its findings more comprehensively and more truly. Time is measured by the clock ; it is valued by man. Both assessments are part of truth ; but it is a larger sanity which comprehends both of them. This is the sanity of Shakespeare's heroines. It endows them with the advantages of a truly realistic apprehension and it safeguards them against the narrowness of exclusive rationalism. It releases them from the bondage of wit and convention, freeing them to grasp the undreamed-of promises of each new moment. "I did never think to marry . . . I may chance to have some odd quirks and remnants of wit broken on me, because I have railed so long against marriage : but doth not the appetite alter ? When I said I would die a bachelor, I did not think I should live till I were married." Here, surely, is a higher and a more effective notion of reason. Man has learnt life more deeply. He knows what prudence and general preference want in a wife : "rich she shall be, that's certain ; wise, or I'll none ; virtuous, or I'll never cheapen her ; fair, or I'll never look on her ; mild, or come not near me ; noble, or not I for an angel ; of good discourse, an excellent musician." It is, of course, a catalogue

which commands general assent : and granted its requirements are fulfilled, " her hair shall be of what colour it please God ". It is all so satisfactory. Indeed, all it leaves out is the most vital factor of all. Loving goes by haps. It is a thousand to one that fancy will first be caught in the frail net of golden, or auburn, or brown, or black, or any other colour of hair for precisely the reason that it is of that colour. That is what life is. The circumstances with which it confronts humanity are incalculable, and especially so are those through which men and women shape their highest happiness. To achieve this, an aptitude for mastery, an unerring eye for the major chance, a gift for seizing opportunity are even more necessary than they were in Falstaff's world. And Shakespeare's heroines have these endowments. But they have something more. They have the genius not only for seizing opportunity, but, having seized it, for making its worth of widest human service. They have that because they are the choicest patterns which mere human nature can bring forth. They *are* human nature ; and first by temperament, then by habit, and then by will, they make joy, and service, and love the guiding motives of their life. They have grown to a trust in nature and a confidence in man. This earth has become their heaven, a heaven unknown to classical comedians, undreamed of by theologians, a heaven to be realised by the natural goodness of human nature before it or heaven is contaminated by theorist or politician, by sentimentalist or puritan, by precisian or visionary. " But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three ; and the greatest of these is love."

That, in a phrase, appears to be the summary conclusion of Shakespeare's worldly wisdom. Our attempt to track it through the plays and then to set it out in words will doubtless seem to have been a characteristically academic mishandling of comedy. Comedy, it will be felt, is a thing of joy, all for our delight, and not an original document for a moral treatise. The radiance of it is sullied by such insensitive analysis, and the broad laughter of it is stifled in a sigh. Moreover, what has emerged from such tedious mishandling ? " The greatest of these is love " : nothing but a moral commonplace, something which sounds like a mere

truism. It may well be that our long course in reaching this conclusion has been like climbing the house-top to unlock the little gate, or like any other instance of love's labour's lost. Besides, what is new in this alleged discovery of Shakespeare's? It is a proposition which was set forth once for all well nigh two thousand years ago, and worthy men have been echoing it ever since. Moreover, is it not flagrantly retrograde at this late day to degrade Shakespeare, the world's artist, into a merely trite moralist, a very tedious pulpiter?

If the hearer of these lectures feels like that, then they have failed in their main object, and their underlying principles are false. It is surely not a dramatist's business to preach. Still less is it his office to propound a systematic body of moral doctrine. It is his primary business to see, to see the world and man and life. Then, as a poet, he projects his vision. He puts what he has seen into the shape which presents it in the precisely proportionate modulations which display the elements of it performing what it is in life their nature to perform. His presentation fails or succeeds by the power of it to impress us with its actuality, its comprehensiveness, its truth. And it impresses not only one faculty of our perceptual and cognitive organism. To secure artistic conviction, it must impress all at once. Shakespeare in these comedies is not in fact telling us that he thinks that charity ought to be man's way of dealing with his fellows: he is not persuading us on ethical and religious grounds that we should cultivate sympathy and nourish love. On the contrary, he is exercising a purely artistic gift. He is revealing to us that, whether we like it or not, whether we ought or ought not to do it, it is clear to the eye of the seer that love is the one way to supreme happiness on this earth. He saw this as a fact by the sensitiveness of his poetic apprehension. And his creative genius so translated it as the guiding principle of the world it bodied forth that we weaker mortals are permitted to see it too. And seeing is believing.

HENRY OF LANCASTER AND HIS *LIVRE DES SEINTES MEDICINES*.

By E. J. F. ARNOULD, M.A., PH.D., L. ÈS L.

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ANGLO-NORMAN literature is not so rich that it can afford to ignore any work couched in correct language and having some claims to originality. It is therefore strange that one such work—the author of which is also one of the most prominent men of his time—should have hitherto passed unnoticed.

The two known MSS. of this work have been duly noted in the catalogues of their respective libraries. One is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the other—more interesting for various reasons—belongs to the Library of Stonyhurst College, Nasmith¹ and, following him, James,² describe C.C.C.C. No. 128 briefly. Thus James :

Henry of Lancaster. “*Livre des Seintes Medicines*,” fol. 70 + 2; 41 lines to a page. Cent. XIV late; very clearly written.³

The Stonyhurst copy has been mentioned in several descriptive and historical notices of the famous college,⁴ and also in the

¹ *Catalogue*, p. 295.

² *Catalogue*, p. 516.

³ James, usually so well informed on the provenance of MSS., gives no indication as to how this one came into the possession of C.C.C.C.


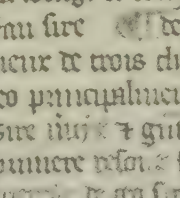
⁴ E. Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, London, 1836, III, pp. 372 sq. Rev. J. Gerard, S.J., *Stonyhurst College Centenary Record*, Belfast, 1894, p. 26. A. Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College, its Past and Present*, Preston, 1870, p. 59. On the Stonyhurst Library, see also *The Stonyhurst Magazine* for May, July, November, 1881, and May, 1883. On a recently identified MS. of the same Library, cf. E. J. Arnould, *Un Manuscrit partiel du Manuel des Péchés*, in *Romania*, April, 1937, pp. 226-240.

The writer of the present notice gladly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Rev. Fr. Rector of Stonyhurst College and the Rev. P. H. Watts, Librarian, for allowing their MS. to be deposited in the John Rylands Library for detailed examination—to Dr. H. Guppy for kindly accepting the trust of the MS. and

Cest luyx est A mon Humphrey Duc de
Gloucester Du don de [redacted]

THE AUTOGRAPH OF HUMPHRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. STONYHURST MS. OF THE
Livre des Saintes Medicines; FOL. 126 v.

restou: sirez ihu crist ceo q' iceo p' leide de vous
p'nt ce enaps a escrire. Iceo vous requere sire
7 humblement vous prie q' vous p'lese a moi
doner grace de cusi ceste oeuvre comencer 7 a complir
q' ceo soit a la p'lesance de vous 7 al honneur de v're
douce mere 7 a la loenge de touz les seyntz 7 seyntes

Enu sire De paradis. Amen.
dieux de trois choses vous sui
iceo principalement tenu a dire
Sire n'ay 7 g'ntre n'aye. . . a
p'nnere resou. . . si est de dire g'nt
n'aye. . . de ceo sire q' vous me
toutes de ment 7 plus vailles q' les t'ntes si g'ntement
un port de monna. . . q' vous t'rezous sirez seintes
soulement p' servir a l'honneur 7 home p' lay meimes
7 p' totes autres creatures a vous servir loer 7 g'ner.
Et me semble sire q' vous f'istes le meisme a t'unt
p' . . . p' une altre 7 de t'unt plus come iceo
plus en ai 7 en la vi' n'ay. . . C' t'rezous sire q'nt
iceo me . . . de ceo q' un resou de vous t'rezous f'ist
7 receve touz les iours sans un deserte come en
vertues 7 en g'os q' malement souit enploies en
moi 7 en la sustenance de mon cuer d' enaps 7
en servir de mes proemes 7 ceo p' n'ist de malices
les queux vous f'istes sire aussi diligemment con
moi 7 aussi chier les achatestes 7 n'ist plus chier
les autres 7 p' bon droit car assez plus valent de

second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1871, Appendix, p. 145).

Both MSS. are identical in substance—their variants almost exclusively having linguistic value only¹—and it is difficult to decide which is the older. A close examination of the texts shows that they are mutually independent, each containing an occasional line that has been accidentally omitted in the other.

The title of the work is given at the end :

“ Icy fyne le livre qe serra appellé le Livre de Seyntz Medicines ” (fol. 124v).²

In a kind of post-scriptum,³ the author gives the date of composition and, in a naive device prompted by his humbleness, his name :

“ Cest livre estoit comencee et parfaite en l'an de grace Nostre Seignur Jesu Crist M^cCCC.LIIII. Et le fist un fole cheitif peccheour qe l'en appelle ERTSACNAL ED CUD IRNEH, a qi Dieux ses malfaitz pardoynt. Amen.”⁴

The text runs through 130 folios in all—four folios having been overlooked in the present numbering, after 33, 38, 81, 86—in a clear, large and regular hand throughout. Each paragraph begins with a gold letter, generally with delicate red or blue ornaments. The first page is adorned with seven escutcheons and, in the first initial, a large seal of Henry of Lancaster. On the verso of the last folio is the following autograph of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester :

“ Cest livre est a moy Homfrey Duc de Gloucestre, du don du baron de Carew.”⁵

The binding is old and, most probably, original.

providing every facility for its perusal in his magnificent library—and to Mr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of the Western Manuscripts, for his untiring obligingness and excellent advice.

¹ A detailed linguistic study will be given in a forthcoming edition of the *Livre des Seintes Medicines*.

² For the purpose of the present article, only the Stonyhurst MS. will be quoted from and referred to here.

³ Cf. below, p. 370.

⁴ This, of course, is the anagram of HENRY DUC DE LANCASTRE. Hewitson, *op. cit.*, wrongly states that this is Lancaster's autograph : there is little doubt that the beautiful writing of the whole manuscript is that of a professional scribe ; as usual, he adds a personal note to the explicit : “ Dexterâ scriptoris careat gravitate doloris.”

⁵ The ‘good Duke,’ whose shady career and licentious life hardly justify the bestowing on him of such a title, is more advantageously known as a great

Mentions of the work are very scarce indeed. Walpole¹ refers to Nasmith's catalogue of the C.C.C.C. library; the *D.N.B.* borrows Capgrave's notice in his *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*,² where the only known attempt at a description of the contents occurs, in these terms :

" Librum devotum tempore sue infirmitatis composuit cujus titulus est ' Mercy, Gramercy,' in quo, quasi in quodam confessionis opusculo, omnia facta sua ad memoriam reducebat, de male gestis veniam a Deo petens ; et hoc ad illam partem libri pertinet quae ' De Misericordia ' intitulatur.³ At in alia parte quae de gratiarum actione condita est, de omnibus prosperis sibi a Deo impensis gratias egit."

Such an all too brief and unattractive description hardly does justice to the work of Henry of Lancaster, and may even be partly responsible for its long neglect. It is correct, however, to say that it belongs to the genre Confessions. It also has affinities with the prolific literature on Sin. But its strikingly personal character gives it in both an outstanding place. Although it cannot be called an Autobiography, the numerous allusions—however vague—to its author's ways of living and thinking, the many references to the customs of the times, the candour and warmth of its tone, make it the faithful reflection of a truly noble soul. The work throws light on the author's character ; but, conversely, it cannot be fully understood and appreciated without some previous knowledge of the author's history.

* * * * *

The life of " Henry, Duc de Lancastre, Comte de Derby, de Nichol (Lincoln) et de Leicestre, Seneschal d'Engleterre, Seigneur

collector and a generous distributor of books. Accounts of his munificence in this respect—of which the Bodleian was the chief beneficiary and preserves the memory in the beautiful room completed in 1488 and still known as Duke Humphrey's Library—will be found in K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1907 ; W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2nd ed., pp. 7 sq. ; and chiefly E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, 1911, pp. 139-145. Autographs of Humphrey of Gloucester's *ex libris* are reproduced in Vickers, p. 360, and Savage, p. 191. Their striking resemblance with that in the Stonyhurst MS. leaves no doubt as to the authenticity of the latter, though its existence does not seem to have been recorded so far.

¹ *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. T. Clark, London, 1806, I, p. 179.

² Ed. F. C. Hingeston, 1858, Rolls Series, No. 7, pp. 161-164.

³ There is no such sub-title in either of our MSS.

de Bruggerak (Bergerac) et de Beaufort," as he styles himself,¹ so identifies itself with the history of his country that much of his biography would be a narrative of the first period of the Hundred Years War, to the treaty of Brétigny (1360).

Of his youth comparatively little is known,² except that he may have made his first campaigns against the Infidels.³ But about 1335 he comes into the limelight, first in the train of his father and as Henry of Derby,⁴ then, after the latter's retirement owing to blindness,⁵ alone and at once in the front. We find him showing his mettle as a soldier and his abilities as a leader and a statesman in Scotland (1336);⁶ then in the attack on Catsand,⁷ and in the various phases of the Flanders campaigns that followed, fighting brilliantly beside his two friends, Walter de Mauny and John Chandos, of future fame (1340).⁸ Later he leads another expedition against the Scots⁹ and, in 1342, takes an active part

¹ In his will, dated 15 March, 1360. Cf. Nicholls, *Royal Wills*, p. 87; or E. Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, London, 1836, I, p. 334.

For Lancaster's genealogy, titles, etc., cf. Doyle, *Baronage*, III, p. 312; M. Gregson, *Portfolio of Fragments relative to the History and Antiquities of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, Liverpool, 1824, p. 1 (going back to Charlemagne) and p. 51 (House of Anjou or Plantagenet, 1215-1422).

² The date of his birth is commonly given as ? 1299. There seem to be good grounds to regard this date as too early. H. Ribadieu (*Les Campagnes du Comte de Derby en Guyenne*, Paris, 1865, p. 71) says: "Il était né en 1310," and probably borrows this from Didot's *Biographie Universelle*, which gives no authority. And in the *Livre des Seintes Medicines*, written in 1354, Lancaster himself says that he has been in this world only "more than 40 years" (f. 48v).

³ Precise information on this point is lacking. It is, in any case, wrong to say that he fought in the Holy Land, and he probably never went further than Spain, or Lithuania. Cf. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, VII, 249; *Encycl. Brit.*, "Crusades," p. 545.

⁴ He was created Earl of Derby on 16 March, 1337.

⁵ "Comes coepit oculis caligare in cecitatem et senescere," Knighton, *Chronicon*, under 1330.

"Non multumque postea comes Lancastriae caecus effectus, ad patienter serviendum se totum ordinavit," Le Baker, p. 106, under 1329.

⁶ Murimuth (Rolls Series, No. 93), p. 77. Rymer, II, 930.

⁷ Froissart, ed. S. Luce, I, 135.

⁸ Froissart, II, 37, 222; Ramsay, J. A., *The Genesis of Lancaster*, 1913, I, 256; Delepierre, O., *Edouard III en Belgique. Chronique rimée écrite en l'an 1347 par Jean de Clerk, d'Anvers*; Gand, 1841.

⁹ Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 295.

in the brief incursion of Edward III. into Brittany, consecutive to the death of Robert d'Artois and terminated by the truce of Malestroit.¹

But the southern parts of France were the main scene of his exploits, and his campaigns in Gascony and Guyenne are his great title to fame as an army leader and a strategist.² Appointed Captain and Lieutenant of the King of England in the Duchy of Aquitaine and its dependencies (10 May, 1345),³ he makes Bordeaux his headquarters and, from there, launches a series of incursions into Perigord, Agenais, Saintonge, Aunis and Poitou, everywhere dealing severe blows to the French armies: at Bergerac, which is taken by surprise, and yields him an enormous booty; ⁴ at Auberoche, which he liberates by a crushing victory over its besiegers, capturing many noble prisoners; at La Roche Meilhan, La Reole, each occupied after a skilfully engineered siege,⁵ and many smaller places which fall into his hands in rapid succession.

During the following summer he relieves Aiguillon, where Walter de Mauny and his own choicest troops are threatened by the Duke of Normandy in "the finest siege that was ever seen."⁶ Then it is that Edward III, having ordered thanksgiving prayers for the successes of Lancaster, who is said to face "magnum et superimmensum exercitum,"⁷ sets off with reinforcements, but, driven by the winds on to the shores of Normandy, ravages the counties of Ile de France, Vimieu and Ponthieu, and finally meets with the unexpected but decisive success of Crécy.⁸

¹ Avesbury (Rolls Series, No. 93), p. 348.

² On these campaigns, cf. H. Ribadieu, *Les campagnes du Comte Derby en Guyenne*, Paris, 1865; W. Longman, *Life and Times of Edward III*, 1869, I, 239; Murimuth, Appendix, p. 251 (a list of Derby's victories).

³ Rymer, III, 37.

⁴ "... infinita preciosa . . . unam pipam plenam auro, praeter alios innumeros thesauros," Knighton, II, p. 31. The money was used for the rebuilding of his stately palace of the Savoy in London: "Hoc quidem manerium Henricus Dux Lancastriae construxerat de sumptibus LII millibus marcarum quas adquisierat apud villam de Bryggerak," *Id.* 118.

⁵ Cf. Froissart, III, pp. 75, 84, 96.

⁶ Froissart, IV.

⁷ Rymer, III, 81.

⁸ Though far away from Crécy at the time, Lancaster deserves a share in the honours of the day. As he tells himself in a report which has been preserved

On 13 January, 1347, Lancaster is back in London, but soon has to join the King at Calais, where the long resistance of the heroic city has infuriated Edward. He checks the half-hearted attempt of the French king to rescue his starving subjects; harasses the retreating army when Philippe gives up the enterprise; and it is he who receives and rejects the offers of peace put forward by the Cardinals on behalf of the French.¹

At the end of 1348 he receives the homage of the Count of Flanders to Edward III. In 1349 he is again in Gascony for a short while, there negotiating a truce before returning to England once more. In 1350, at the hard-fought naval battle off Winchelsea,² he saves the life of the King's eldest son, the future Black Prince, and probably decides the issue.

Created Duke on 8 March, 1351, and Admiral of the Western Fleet two days later,³ he set off for the wars against the enemies of Christendom, but went no further than Prussia. After a period of comparative quiet,⁴ he was sent to Avignon to negotiate a peace settlement before the Pope.⁵ Upon the failure of these negotiations, war started again. Lancaster resumed service with the title of Captain and Lieutenant of the King for the Duchy of Brittany.⁶ In 1356, while in Normandy,⁷ he thought it wise to retreat before the vastly superior forces of the King of France, narrowly escaped being cut off, and made his way towards the Loire to try and join the army of the Black Prince advancing from Bordeaux. The attempt was unsuccessful and, while conducting the siege of Rennes, he learnt

by Avesbury (p. 372), when he heard of the landing of Edward III in Normandy, he rejected offers of a truce made by the French and resumed the offensive with a new vigour, advancing up to St. Jean d'Angély, where Walter de Mauny had been ambushed and was retained prisoner.

¹ Froissart, IV; Le Baker, p. 90; Avesbury, p. 392; Longman, I, 280.

² Froissart, IV; Le Baker, p. 109; Longman, I, 327; Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 367; Nicholas, N. H., *A History of the Royal Navy*, 1847, II, 102.

³ Rymer, III, 215; Froissart, IV, 89; Le Baker, p. 114; Nicholas, p. 114 n.

⁴ During which the *Livre des Seintes Medicines* was written. Cf. above, p. 353.

⁵ Froissart, IV, 131; Avesbury, p. 421; Le Baker, pp. 123, 239; Knighton, p. 77; Longman, I, 358; Ramsay, I, 381.

⁶ Rymer, III, 312.

⁷ His journal of this raid through Normandy is given in full by Avesbury, p. 462 sq.

of the victory of Poitiers.¹ He reluctantly raised the seige,² after the signing of the truce at Bordeaux (23 March, 1357), and returned to England, where the King of France was to be his guest in his palace of the Savoy.

Soon again hostilities were resumed by Edward, now determined to bring France—deprived of her King and a prey to internal disorder—to his feet. One of three armies that composed the expedition was entrusted to Lancaster, the King himself and his son having the command of the other two. When, at last, the English threatened Paris, the Duke of Normandy, acting as Regent, asked for peace, and Lancaster was instrumental in bringing about an agreement on far more lenient terms than Edward, in his resentment, was inclined to impose.³

Less than one year after Bretigny, Henry of Lancaster died of the plague in his Leicester residence (23 March, 1361).⁴

More significant than the military performances is the part played by Henry of Lancaster behind the scenes in all the important events of his time, either as diplomat or as friend and adviser of the King.⁵

He is found as a member—and often as the leader—of practically all the delegations appointed from time to time, either to procure allies for England, or to seek a respite in the vain strife which the utopian ambition of Edward III prolonged for so many years. When the activity of Henry of Lancaster the elder becomes impaired by blindness, his son immediately steps into his place. In 1339 he is one of those who advise the King

¹ Knighton, p. 94; Longman, II, 18.

² After receiving two imperative letters from the King; cf. Rymer, p. 353, 359.

³ Froissart, VI, 4; Longman, II, 55; Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 438.

⁴ The exact date is clearly stated in the following note added to a contemporary document: "Mesme le jour (i.e. 23 March 1361) en le matine et mesme l'an susdit, le dit Duc devia a Leycestre et illeosqe est il sevelé en la novel eovre, c'est assavoir en le Newerk."—M. Bateson, *Records of the borough of Leicester*.

⁵ This friendship with the King dates from his childhood. His father, it will be remembered, was President of the Regency Council during the minority of Edward III (Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 185; Longman, I, 6); he also girded the young King with the sword of Knighthood, "having likewise the tuition of him, in regard to his tender years, so soon as he was crowned" (Walsingham, p. 192, quoted by Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 783.)

to raise the siege of Cambrai. He is at the King's side at the battle of Buironfosse, and returns to England with him.¹ When the "good folk" of Malines object to Edward's departure for England, Henry of Lancaster remains in pawn for the King's debts.² He heads the peace delegation at Arras, discusses the conditions of a truce with David Bruce,³ and sponsors the truce of Malestroit.⁴ In the same year he is appointed for similar discussions before the Pope.⁵ When Olivier de Clisson has been brutally put to death by order of the King of France, Henry of Lancaster is entrusted with the guardianship of his two children;⁶ but, at the same time, remonstrating with the King in energetic terms, he prevents the slaying of Henri de Léon as reprisals.⁷

Once more he is at the forefront when peace is discussed before Calais.⁸ Later he receives the homage of the Count of Flanders on behalf of the King.⁹ In 1354 he goes to Avignon for another attempt at a peace settlement,¹⁰ and negotiates an alliance with Philippe of Navarre. His part in, at last, bringing about the signing of a sound treaty at Bretigny is clearly recorded by Froissart. And his last mission abroad is to escort the King of France back to Calais (1360), an honour which he shares with the eldest son of Edward III.¹¹

Historians and chroniclers all agree in praising the gracious character of the man more, perhaps, than they extol his attainments. From their testimony and from the scanty episodes relating to his private life, it is obvious that Lancaster came as near as anyone to achieving the chivalrous ideal of the times.

¹ Froissart, I, 455, 468, 481.

² Rymer, II, 1100; Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 270; Longman, I, 157. Cf. *List of Records of the Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 121. Memoranda concerning the Earl of Derby's arrest at Brussels on account of the King's debt payable at Malines, Easter, 1340.

³ Rymer, II, 1191; Froissart, III, I, 4.

⁴ Avesbury, p. 348.

⁵ Murimuth, pp. 137, 152.

⁶ Froissart, III, 7: "Et tout doi furent de la delivrance et ordenance dou conte Derbi."

⁷ Froissart (*ibid.*) describes the scene and 'quotes' Derby's address to the King in full. Edward tells Henri de Léon that his life will be spared "pour l'amour de mon cousin le conte Derbi."

⁸ Froissart, IV, 5; Avesbury, p. 392 (a letter from the King to Archbishop Stafford).

⁹ Rymer, III, 178.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 283.

¹¹ Froissart, VI, xiv; Longman, II, 57.

A valorous fighter when circumstances called for a display of strength, he was anything but fond of war for war's sake, and preferred the less brutal sport of the lists. Tournaments, though still officially prohibited, were in great vogue during Edward's reign, and the favourite pastime of the King himself.¹ There is ample evidence that Henry of Lancaster was more than partial to such recreations. On one occasion, "he sent to Sir W. Douglas, the 'Flower of Chivalry,' to beg him to run three courses or have three jousts with him. The 'Flower of Chivalry' was wounded in the hand by a splinter from his own lance in the first encounter and forced to give up the contest. On another occasion the Earl entreated Sir Alex. Ramsay to hold a solemn jousting for three days, which was instantly agreed to. Two English knights were killed, and Sir William was so severely wounded by a spear which penetrated through the bars of his helmet, that he died as soon as the spear was pulled out."²

He organised joustings at Leicester, for the marriage of his daughter Maud to William Duke of Zealand;³ at Lincoln, on being created Earl of the County;⁴ and at Bristol, on New Year's day, 1358. He was present in 1342 at similar festivities lasting fifteen days, and given by the King in honour of the Countess of Salisbury, in which took part the élite of the nobility of England, Germany, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant;⁵ at the great Windsor festival, where he appeared as Seneschal of England;⁶ and again on St. George's day (23 April) 1358, at joustings "which were pronounced to transcend everything on record since the days of King Arthur: there came many knights from the Continent; and King John of France submitted to play his part in the show with great dignity . . .";⁷ there, too, Henry of Lancaster was wounded in the thigh.⁸

But undoubtedly the most spectacular of such encounters in which Lancaster played a prominent part was his duel with

¹ Knighton, II, 57; Longman, I, 294; Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 225, 300, 353; II, 47.

² Longman, I, 191.

³ Knighton, II, 30.

⁴ Le Baker, p. 97.

⁵ Froissart, III.

⁶ Murimuth, p. 232.

⁷ Ramsay, *Genesis*, I, 425.

⁸ *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series No. 9), p. 227.

Otto of Brunswick. Although, curiously enough, Froissart omits this picturesque episode, it is related by several other trustworthy chroniclers.¹ Having formulated a grievance against Otto and declared himself ready to meet him in single combat, he received from the Prince a letter of provocation. Obtaining from Edward leave to take up the challenge, and from the King of France a safe-conduct to Paris, he met his opponent there, amidst a brilliant concourse of knights and ladies from all countries. Otto cut such a sorry figure in the lists that, on the advice of his own friends, he gave up the combat, admitted defeat and apologised humbly. Upon which the Duke was lavishly entertained by the King of France and offered valuable presents which, however, he declined to accept from the enemy of his Sovereign, with the exception of a thorn from the crown of Christ, subsequently presented by him to the Collegiate Church of Leicester.²

No less characteristic of the man, as well as of times when courtesy reigned supreme, is the double incident which took place during the siege of Rennes (1357), and which Froissart has narrated in his inimitable way.³ Thus the fame of Lancaster's courtesy and chivalry spread everywhere. They were

¹ E.g. Knighton, II, 68 ; Le Baker, p. 121.

² Knighton, p. 69 ; Le Baker, p. 121 ; Walsingham, I, 279.

³ Longman gives the following abridged version of this episode :

" John Bolton, one of the besiegers, amused himself with hawking in the neighbourhood of the city, and one day took six partridges. He then put on his complete armour, mounted his horse, and rode up to the gates of the city, saying he wanted to see Bertrand du Guesclin, a man then unknown to fame but who became eventually the chief support of the French throne. Bertrand did not appear, but Olivier de Maunay, a relation probably of the well-known Sir Walter, came to the gate and asked Bolton whether he would sell his partridges to some ladies in the town. " By my faith," said Bolton, " if you dare to bargain a little nearer to me and come so close that we may fight I will deal with you." " As God will, ouil," said Oliver, " wait and I will come and pay you." He came down from the walls to the moat which was full of water and, taking off his gauntlets and leg-armour, jumped in and swam across. Bolton and Oliver were not long in beginning their fight, the Duke of Lancaster and his army looking on on one side, and the ladies in Rennes, who, as Froissart says, " took great pleasure in watching them," on the other. Bolton was overcome, and Oliver took him and his partridges into the city. They were both wounded but, before they had been long within the walls, Olivier began to feel that his wounds were serious, and accordingly told his prisoner that if he could procure him a safe-conduct for a

directly experienced in places like Bordeaux where, after his first victorious raid through Aquitaine, "si s'esbatoit et jechoit entre les bourgeois et les dames de la ville,"¹ or St. Jean d'Angély, where he was "des bourgeois et des dames de la ville receus a grant joie et a haute honeur" and, in return, "donnoit as dames et damoiselles li Contes Derbi priesqe tous les jours disners et soupers grans et biaux et les tenoit toudis en reviel; et fist tant que il disoient communalment que c'estoit li plus nobles princes qui peüst chevaucier sus palefroy."² For he also possessed that other attribute of the perfect knight, Largesse. We know that he was fond of pomp: his London residence was "the richest manor in all England."³ Walpole writes that "his retinue was more splendid than that of any other nobleman of his period, never being less than 800 men at arms and 2000 archers. His daily expenditure is calculated at £100 a day, an immense sum at that time; and he spent 17000 pounds sterling in the French wars, besides his pay."⁴ When he met Otto of Brunswick at the court of France, he was accompanied by "L militibus et multitudine strenua."⁵ When, at the end of 1354, he went to Avignon for the peace negotiations, everyone marvelled at the magnificence of his retinue, his refined ways, and his generosity.⁶

This generosity was extended to his former soldiers: from about 1346 the Patent Rolls are full of 'pardons' granted for various crimes to men who had fought under him in Gascony or Brittany.⁷ But, of course, the chief beneficiaries of his

month, he would set him free. Olivier said he knew of some herbs which would cure him, but which could not be obtained in the town. Bolton set off on his errand, the Duke of Lancaster granted the safe-conduct and Bolton then returned to Rennes and came back again with his captor. The month was spent in the English camp; the Frenchman was treated by the English surgeons; and, as soon as he had recovered, returned to Rennes, with great expressions of politeness and courtesy on both sides" (Longman, II, 17; cf. Froissart, V, 305).

¹ Froissart, III, 63.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 16.

³ Knighton, II, 118.

⁴ H. Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Walpole, however, has borrowed this from Knighton (II, 54), who quotes the above figures only in reference to the sojourn of Lancaster at Calais during the truce of 1347-8.

⁵ Knighton, II, 69.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷ An instance of Lancaster's generosity and justice towards one particular soldier is given in Walsingham, I, 265.

charities belonged to the religious world. Lengthy enumerations of his gifts are given in regional histories, chiefly those of Leicestershire, where he had his principal residence.¹ They include provisions for the monks of Whalley, the extension of a hospital or 'bedehouse' founded by his father, and the foundation of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary at Leicester, where he desired to be buried.

He has also sometimes been called the founder of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. But he seems to have done no more than use his influence to obtain the necessary licence from the King for the Gilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary, of which he was an alderman.²

The final touch to such a picturesque figure is provided by recorded manifestations of his sense of humour. The episode, quoted above, of Olivier de Maunay and the partridges is one instance of this. During the campaign through Normandy in 1356, the King of France, advancing with a stronger army, sent him a challenge. The Duke sent reply that "he and his friends had come into the country for certain business, part of which had been carried out; they were now going elsewhere to see to the rest, but in order that the French might always know his whereabouts, he would have a lighted lantern hung up at the rear of his troops."³ When the Earl of Pembroke, having failed to join the main body of the army before the battle of Auberoche, arrived after the victory, the Earl greeted him with a smile, saying: "Cousin Pembroke, welcome. You are just in time to sprinkle holy water upon the dead." In the deserved rebuke, however, there was no bitterness, since, as Froissart says: "Adonc se present par les mains, et entrèrent en une cambre, et issirent de ce pourpos" (III, p. 71).

It is surely no wonder that the praise of contemporary as well as of modern historians should be unanimous, not only concerning Henry of Lancaster's abilities as a great soldier and

¹ Nichols, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 1795-1815, I, i, 227-232; Baines, I, 140; M. Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, IV, 113.

² Ramsay, *Genesis*, II, 73.

³ Knighton, p. 87.

statesman, but also as to the nobleness and graceful simplicity of the 'gentleman.'¹

* * * * *

There is an undoubted contrast between Henry of Lancaster's brilliant career and romantic character on the one hand and the subject and tone of his *Livre des Seintes Medicines* on the other. This 'confession,' so ingenuously humble and sometimes crudely frank, is the utterance of a soul deeply conscious of the vanity of worldly things and of the spiritual perils inherent in a life of pomp and luxury. Yet, by thus displaying the innermost feelings of a heart contrite but free from bitterness or violent remorse, the 'Good Duke' merely confirms the opinion one may have formed of his personality from the spare data of general history.

The title given by him to the work is very apposite, inasmuch as it brings out the main source of its originality. For the general framework is a kind of allegory by which the author, after taking stock of himself, first lays open before the Divine Physician and His Assistant, the 'Douce Dame,' the wounds of his soul—i.e. his five senses, each of which is infected by the seven deadly sins—then suggests and prays to obtain, the

¹ E.g. : " Li duch de Lancastre qui fu si bons chevaliers et si recommandés " (Froissart, I, 27).

" Li contes Derbi faisoit tant q'il estoit amés de tous ses amis et resongniés de tous ses ennemis " (*Id.* III, 73).

" Li dus de Lancastre qui fu vaillans sires, sages et imaginatis " (*Id.* VI, 51).

" En ce temps trespassa de ce siecle en Engleterre li gentils Dus de Lancastre, de quoi li Rois et tout li hault baron de son pays furent durement courouciet, se amender le peussent " (*Id.* VI, 76).

" Qi Henry estoit sage, glorious et prus, et en sa juvent revaillous en honour et armys et devaunt son descesse durement bon Cristien " (*Scalacronica*, ed. J. Stevenson, 1836, p. 200).

" Ita graciose in omnibus operibus humanitatis se gerebat, quod omnes de eo audientes gloriam et honorem deferebant " (Knighton, s, d, 1342).

" . . . Ingressus ad Papam cum reverentia debita, prout bene sciebat. . . . Et tantam humanitatem omnibus exhibuit, et precipue Papae et Cardinalibus, quod dicebant non esse ei parem in toto mundo " (Knighton, II, 77).

" He was the prince of the chevaliers of the Middle Ages " (J. Thompson, *History of Leicestershire*, p. 123).

" The most interesting personage of the reign : brave, humane and upright, a friend of the clergy, the scholars and the poor, he might be taken as the living original of Chaucer's "verray perfight gentil knight " (Ramsay, *Genesis*).

remedies appropriate to each wound, to each cause of infection. Every detail borrowed from the experience of every day life has its counterpart in the spiritual sense, the process disclosing an extremely fertile imagination and also, as may be expected, an unlimited ingenuity.

Both the purpose of the whole book and its main divisions are set down clearly enough, after the introductory pages, in a passage which gives a first instance of the method peculiar to Henry of Lancaster :

“ A man that were sorely wounded with grievous and mortal wounds would be unwise if he tarried before seeking a physician able to heal them. And if the man is poor and the medicine dear, it will be a shame if the physician is not courteous enough to be willing to cure him for nothing but thanks, provided these are given with a good heart ; for with such money must those who wish for nothing but thankfulness be paid. And if he is willing to do so, the poor man is much indebted to him, for he would have no money to get such expensive medicine, and if he does not get it, he is sure to die.

“ Ah Most Gentle Lord Jesus Christ, I am that pauper, destitute of all goods and sorely wounded in seven wounds so repulsive and dangerous that I expect nothing but death, nay the evil death, unless I receive immediate comfort and help from a good physician—that is from you, Gentle Lord God, who are physician and medicine and refuge to all who seek you with a good heart. And since, Sire, I am so destitute of all goods and my wounds are so horrible and so full of venom from the evil smelling infection, that it is too shameful to mention them or examine them or even think of them, ah Lord God, how shall I be so bold as to lay them open before you ? Three things will make me do so : one is, Sire, that I well know that one can conceal nothing from you, since you know everything ; the second, that I must either show them or die an evil death ; the third, that no one can help me but you. And, Most Gentle Lord, I trust in your great kindness, pity and mercy.

“ I will, therefore, if it please you, Sire, show you my wounds. They number seven : the first is the ear ; the second the eye ; the third the nose ; the fourth the mouth ; the fifth the hand ; the sixth the foot ; the seventh the heart ; and also, generally, my whole body is full of sores. And the above mentioned wounds are so filled with the seven mortal sins and the venial sins, that I have much fear, were it not for my faith and trust in your great kindness, Good Master, and my hope that you will, if it please you, help me to recover completely.

“ Should the stench of my wounds offend you, Sire, may you not therefor turn your face away from me, for then I shall be entirely lost : have pity, gentle Lord Physician ; and I beg that I may find mercy before your gentle face and in your meek eyes. And since you are both physician and medicine, and since you

—and no one else—can cure me, grant, O Lord, that I may rightly disclose my wounds to you and obtain health from you : through your holy mercy, have pity on them.”¹

The author never loses sight of his purpose or of the scheme he has chosen to carry it out. But he often takes the liberty of wandering away from them, in a number of sometimes very long, often deliberate, always conscious digressions. Such laxness in the composition is no surprise in a mediæval work. In the present case, it may be partly imputed to the lack of experience in the writer. This, at least, he claims as his excuse :

¹ “ Un homme qī serroit durement naufrez de grandes plaies deqes a la mort, il ne serroit mie sage s’il tardoit trop a lui quere tiel myre qe lui purroit ses plaies garrir. Et si l’omme est poure et la medicine chiere, c’est trop fort si lui meistres ne soit si curtois q’il le voille garrir sanz plus prendre de soen forsque soulement grant mercy, mes qe ceo soit de bon coer ; car de tiele monoye covient paier ceaux qe les grantz merciz sanz plus coveitent. Et s’il par tant le voillet faire, lui poures homme est mult tenuz a cest curtois mestre, car par nule finance ne purroit il avesnir a si chere medicine, et, s’il ne l’ad, il est mort sanz doute.

“ A Tresdouz Sire Jesu Crist, jeo sui celui poures et nu de touz bienz qī sui mult durement naufrez de sept si ordes et si perillouses plaies qe jeo n’atenk forsque la mort, voir voir la male mort, si jeo n’ai le plus tost confort et eide de bon meistre : ceo estes vous, beau Sire Dieux, q’estes myre et medicine et refut a touz ceaux qe vous queren de bon coer. Et puis qe jeo sui, Sire, si poure de touz biens et mes plaies sont si perillouses, si horribles, si pleynes de venym pur purture de vileyne ordure puant, qe c’est honte trop grant de ent parler ou de ent enquere ou soulement penser, A beau Sire, coment serroi jeo donc si hardi qe jeo les vous moustre ? Trois choses le me fra faire : l’une est, Sire, qe jeo sai bien q’omme ne vous poet riens celer, car vous savetz tout ; la seconde, qe moustre le me covient ou de male mort morir ; la tierce chose est qe nul ne me poet eider forsque vous ; et jeo m’affie, tresdouz Sire, en vostre grante bontee, pitee et mercie.

“ Ore, Sire, s’il vous plect, jeo vous mustrerai mes plaies qe sont sept : la primere est l’oraille ; la seconde l’oil ; la tierce le nies ; la quarte la bouche ; la quinte la mayn ; la sisme le piee ; la septisme le coer. Et uncure, a dire generalement, tout le corps si est pleyne des plaies, et les avantdites plaies sont si pleines de touz les sept mortels pecches et de veniaux, qe j’ai mult graunte doute forsque par tant qe jeo m’affie et assure en la grant curtoisie de vous, beau Mestre, qe vous, si vous plect, me aideretz a tout garrir.

“ Et si ensi soit qe mes plaies puent sur vous, pur ceo, Sire, ne voillietz mye turner la face de moy, car jeo serrai donques de tout perdu. Mes pitee vous preigne, douz Sire Meistre, et jeo vous prie qe jeo soie pitous devant vostre douce face et en vostre humble regard. Et puis, Sire, qe vous estes myre et medicine qī poetz garrir et nul altre, donetz moi grace, Sire, qe jeo vous puisse, Sire, a droit discoverir mes plaies et qe j’ai par vous sanctee ; et par vostre seinte misericorde eietz ent pitee ” (fols. 4-5.)

" I have three reasonable excuses for the defects of this book : one is that I have not the wit to deal with high things. The second, which concerns the poorness of my French, is that I am English and have not had much acquaintance with French ; the third, that I am no expert writer, having learnt the art of writing but late and without aid." ¹

But the looseness of the texture is also accounted for by the fact that the book is made up of a long series of paragraphs jotted down day by day, or as the leises of the author allowed him to do so. Of the three motives that induced him to undertake the work, the first is " the wish to make use of times which were wont to be idle in the service of God " (fol. 124). And, for instance, in a long digression occasioned by the occurrence of the Holy Week, the repartition of three paragraphs over the last three days of the week is clear :

Good Friday : " And this—the death of Christ—occurred 1320 years ago, on the same day as that on which I have reached this point of my work, a *Good Friday morning*."

Holy Saturday : " I have sore need of your help, Gentle Lady, vouchsafe to pray your beloved Son for me, poor beggar that I am. May he grant that the grief which was yours at this time—on the *Holy Saturday after the dolorous Friday*—be compensation for my sins."

Easter Sunday : " And now, Gentle Lord, are we come to the glorious day of your Resurrection. . . ." ²

Indeed, the length of each paragraph seems proportionate to that of the day on which it was written or, perhaps, to the length of time of which the author disposed at the particular moment :

¹ " Par trois choses me puisse jeo resonablement escuser de defautes de cest livre. L'une est qe jeo n'ai pas le sen de moy entremettre de haut chose. L'autre si est : si le franceis ne soit pas bon, jeo dois estre escusee pur ceo qe jeo sui Engleis et n'ai pas moelt hauntee le franceis. La tierce chose est qe jeo ne sui pas bon escryvene, car unqes ne l'apris fors qe tard de moy meismes " (fol. 124).

² " Et come ceo feu sur cestui meismes jour Mill CCC & XX anz qe jeo estoi cy endroit de mon livre, sur un Bon Vendredy matin " (fol. 49v.).

" . . . j'ai bien bosoigne, Douce Dame, de vostre aye qe vous deignetz et voillietes prier pur moy cheitif mendivant a vostre chier et amez filiz, q'il voille ottoier qe le grant dolour qe vous eustes a cest temps com le Samady tout le jour apres le dolorous Vendredy, qe ceo dolour me soit recompensation de mes pecchez " (fol. 50v.).

" Et ore sumes, douce Sires, a la gloriouse journee de vostre Resurreccion " (fol. 50v.).

" Good Lord God, one may see by my day's work that I am proceeding slowly ; and one may know that these days are so short that I cannot work much, especially in things that concern you, Gentle Sire." ¹

It is also unlikely that Henry of Lancaster was able to devote an uninterrupted period to his work. The few months occupied by its composition were merely a lull in his numerous outward activities, and various intervals must have separated parts of the work. Hostilities, it is true, had ceased for a time, with France as with Scotland, a truce having been signed for one year ; ² and it was hoped that a permanent peace settlement would be reached in October at Avignon. But political activities did not decrease in the meantime : from 28 April to 20 May a full formal Parliament was held at Westminster. ³ And from then until October, Henry of Lancaster must have been busily engaged in the preparation of his important journey to the City of the Popes.

In spite of these extenuating circumstances, it is none the less difficult for the reader always to keep in mind the plan and purpose of the author. He himself realised this, and he often apologises for his digressions, at the same time carefully pointing out where they start and where they finish, e.g. :

" Now I must leave my first matter for a while ; I shall return to it when it please you, Good Gentle Lord and Master " (fol. 15). " But now I pass on as briefly as possible, to return to my subject " (fol. 16). " And now I return to my first subject " (fol. 23v.). " I have now long wandered away from my subject, so long that by my wit alone I could never find my way back to it " (fol. 86B). " Now it is time I should return to my matter, for I have too long wandered away from it " (fol. 102), etc.

So conscious was he of this defect and also of the considerable length of his work, that he thought it advisable later to add a summary of it, as a guide for the reader and a help to derive the greatest possible benefit from it :

" Since some might find devotion in these matters, as bees find honey and draw it from bitter flowers and brambles, I will briefly state the essence of it,

¹ " Beau Sire Dieux, homme poet bien veoir par mes journees qe jeo voise mult belement le pas en cest affaire ; et si poet homme savoir par cestez journees qe sont si petites qe jeo ne puisse pas bien travailler, et nomement en choses qe vous touchent, douz Sires " (fol. 50v.).

² On 6 April, 1354. Cf. Rymer, III, 276.

³ Rot. Parl. II, 254.

that it may be properly understood. . . . And however poor the work may be, he or she who will suck some of it into his or her soul, shall draw honey from it—so I hope through the grace of God. May it so please Him. Amen. Amen.”¹

Then follows the three-page compendium which, it must be confessed, also lacks proportion in the summing up of the various sections, but gives them in their order. A table of the contents—naturally reflecting the disjointed state of the text—may be drawn up as follows :

Introduction (f. 1).

General purpose and division of the work (4v.).

I. THE WOUNDS (i.e. the organs of the five senses) AND THE VENOMS INFECTING THEM (i.e. the seven deadly sins).

1. The ear (5).

2. The eyes (6).

3. The nose (7v.).

4. The mouth (8-12v.) :

Pride (9) ; Envy (9v.) ; Wrath (9v.) ; Covetousness (10) ; Gluttony (10) ; Lechery (12) ; Sloth (12v.).

—How the same venoms re-enter through the mouth (13v.-34v.) :

Pride (14). *Digression* on the meekness of God (15-23v.) ; Envy (23v.) ; Wrath (24) ; Covetousness (24v.-27) ; Gluttony (27-28v.) ; Lechery (28v.-30) ; Sloth (30-34).

5. The hands (35v.-37v.). Beginning of a long comparison of the body to a fortified castle. The hands (and the feet) are the walls of the castle. Pride, etc.

6. The feet (38-41) = The walls of the castle. Pride, etc.

7. The heart (42-64) = The ‘doungeon’ of the castle. Pride, etc.

The heart also compared to :

(1) A whirlpool in the sea (47-49).

Digression on the three Holy Days.

(2) A fox’s hole (53v.-60v.).

(3) A public fair (60v.-64).

Concluding prayer and transition (64-67v.).

II. THE REMEDIES.

1. Faith in recovery (67v.) = Trust in God’s grace.

2. Tonic beverage (68) = The milk of the Blessed Virgin.

¹ “Pur ceo qe ascuns purroient trover devocion en cest matire, sicom les ceys trouvent le myel et l’enportent des ameres fleures et de rounces, pur ceo vorroie jeo faire relacion si brief de la plus grande substance, qe l’en ben entendre poet. . . . Et, ne soit l’enoevre ja si nyce, celui ou celle qe en l’alme sucher en voille, jeo espoir sanz doute, ou la grace de Dieux, qe aucun myel il trera. Et ensi voille Dieux. Amen. Amen ” (fol. 124v.).

3. Washing of the wounds (68v.-76) = The tears of the B.V.M.
 4. Against excessive heat, rose water (76v.-80v.). The roses are the bleeding wounds of Christ.
—Why Christ is the perfect physician.
 5. Liniment for the wounds (81B-82) = Christ's precious blood.
 6. Against frenzy, a cock freshly killed (82v.-84) = Christ put to death on the Cross.
 7. Against gangrene, amputation (84-84v.).
—Separate treatment of the several wounds : ears, eyes, etc. (85-98v.).
 8. Against weakness, capon's broth (99-102).¹
 9. Against excessive heat, a pomegranate (102-103).
 10. Baths (103-106).
 11. Dressing of the wounds (106-114).
 12. Various comforts during convalescence (118v.-119v.).
- Prayer to obtain the will to recover (120v.-123).
Conclusion (123v.-124v.).
Post-scriptum (124v.-126).

As may be seen from this table alone, what might have been a mere addition to the colourless series of works on Sin and Repentance here receives a touch of originality from the general allegory in which it is framed. But more novel still is the method resorted to by Henry of Lancaster in each individual comparison. Instead of the hackneyed *exemplum*, he borrows pictures from the sick-room, from everyday life, and from his personal experiences. Of these images he makes the very most, describing their material aspect in great detail, and finding in every one a wealth of 'mystic' interpretations. One instance of this method has been given above.² Another is provided by that well-known mediæval remedy, Theriaque, or Triacle, as it is called here :

" If a man should be envenomed within his body by poison or some other venom, he would have to get some medicine, or else he would be doomed to die quickly. And nothing could be so good for him as Triacle : Triacle is indicated in such cases. This Triacle is made and tempered with the strongest venom one can find anywhere. And if it is stronger than the venom within the man, it expels this through its strength and virtue ; and thus is the man cured and saved from death. But if the venom within the man is so potent and pernicious and has remained inside him for any length of time, so that the Triacle is not strong enough to eject it, then the man grows all the worse for it. For, if one venom cannot overcome the other, they help each other to destroy and kill the man :

¹ The spiritual applications in this and the following articles are too numerous to be mentioned here.

² See p. 365.

the more the man is envenomed, the worse he is ; and since Triacle cannot relieve him, it turns to venom, and thus is the man doubly poisoned and mortally envenomed.

"Most Gentle Lord Jesus Christ, I am that unfortunate and wretched man, so full of the poison and venom of all sins, and above all of the sin of Sloth, that no Triacle can help me, but it rather harms me and makes me worse. The Triacle is the holy discourses and pious teachings and true examples that I have received through my ears, as from good men and good books ; and this is the medicine well suitable to make a man expel the venomous sin that has entered his soul.

"This Triacle is made of venom, in order to destroy the other venom ; and this is when a holy man preaches or teaches : he shows us the evil we have done, and speaks of the torments of Hell and Purgatory and shows us, with many examples and authorities, how we shall lose the joy of Heaven and enter the eternal sorrowful Hell. This we can hear from good books and learn in many ways. And I may say that these discourses are made and tempered with deadly venom and in order to destroy the venomous sin within ; for, just as, in making Triacle, one takes an animal called the Scorpion and puts it into the Triacle and smothers it therein to make it disgorge all its venom ; and the Triacle is all the finer and the stronger, especially against the poison of that very animal—which is very pernicious, as people know who have been in places where those animals are common,—the Scorpion is the Devil, whom goodly men take and put into their discourses and kill. They destroy him by good arguments and make him disgorge all his venom in order to make the Triacle finer and stronger, especially against the pernicious poisoning by the Devil himself—who is far more common in every country than the Scorpion. The Devil disgorges his venom when he lays out his snares, and if one can avoid them, then he is dead and unable to lay out any more. And all this we learn from wise men and good books, which we can consult as often as we please. And if we take the Triacle as we should, we need not doubt but that we shall purge ourselves and expel the evil venom which is within us, through your power and grace, Good Lord God.

"I am he who is thus envenomed by such a potent poison, and Triacle avails me nothing, for it can hardly enter my body. If anyone of those good teachings could enter my body through the ear, it would readily fulfil its purpose, which is to expel the venom of all the many foul sins within me, through the mouth, by a truthful confession. But sin is so potent in me and has remained there so long, that Triacle can do nothing ; and what enters makes me worse rather than better. For the more good I learn, the worse I grow, if I show no improvement thereafter : and thus does good turn to evil, Triacle to venom. And I am doomed to die soon unless, Most Gentle Lord and Master, I receive from you help and succour in my great need."¹

¹ "Si un homme feust envenyme par dedeinz le corps de poison ou d'autre envenymeure, il lui covendrait avoir ascune medicine, ou il lui covendrait briefment morir. Et riens ne lui serroit si bon come Triacle, et Triacle si est a tieles

Medical comparisons such as this are more common in the second part. Thus, once the patient has become confident of

choses ordenee et apropié. Et est ceo Triacle fait et tempré de le plus forte venyme qe homme poet trover nul part ; et s'il soit plus fort qe le venym q'est par dedeinz le homme, il par sa force et vertue gette hors celui dedeinz ; et ensi est lui homme garris et gardee de mort. Mes si le venym dedeinz l'omme soit si fort et si malicious et eiet ascune piece demoree dedeinz qe le Triacle n'eit mye force qe le puisse hors getter, adonques enpire l'omme de tant plus : car si l'un venym ne poet destruire l'autre, l'un eide l'autre a destruire l'omme et lui faire morir : car de plus qe lui homme est envenymé pis vaut, et puis qe lui Triacle ne poet eider, si tourne a venym, et ensi est lui homme diaux foize enpoisonnez et venymez a mort.

"Tresdouz Sire Jesu Crist, jeo sui celui malestrux homme et cheitifs, qe sui si pleyn de poison et de venym de touz pecchés, et entre autres de pecché de Peresce, qe nul Triacle ne me poet eider, einz ennuyet et enpire. Le Triacle, c'est les seyntz sermons et les bons enseignementz et les verraies ensamples qe j'ai receu par mes orailles, come par bones gientz et par bones livres : et c'est la medicine droit apropiiez pur faire un homme getter hors le venymous pecché q'est dedeinz l'alme emtrez. Et cest Triacle si est fait de venym pur destruire l'autre venym : et ceo est ensi qant un prodomme preche ou enseigne : il parle et nous moustre le mal qe nous avons fait et nous dit ausi de les peynes d'Enfern et de Purgatoire et nous moustre par ensamples et par asseez de auctoritez coment nous perdrons la joi de ciel et entrons en Enferm dolorous sanz fyn ; et ceo cy poons nous oier par livre et en meynte manere savoir. Ore puisse jeo dire qe cestes paroles sont faitez et temprez ou grant venym et tout est a destruire le venymous pecche par dedeinz ; car ensi come qant l'omme fait le Triacle, homme prent un best q'ad a noun Scorpion, et le mettent dedeinz le Triacle et le tuent dedeinz ; et c'est pur cele male best faire la getter tout son venym ; et le Triacle de tant en serra plus fyn et plus fort et nomement contre la venymeure de cele meisme best, la quel est mult perillous—sicome homme poet savoir qi la ad estee ou celes bestes sont comunes ; le Scorpion si est le Diable qi les bons preignent et mettent dedeinz lour sermon et la le tuent. Car ils le destruent par bones resons et le fount tout getter hors son venym pur faire le Triacle plus fyn et plus fort, et nomement encontre l'envenymure de lui meismes q'est mult perillouse—et il est comunlament partout et en touz paiis plus qe le Scorpion. Le getter hors le venym au Diable, ceo est qant il gette ses temptacions et homme poet les contreester, et adonques est il mort et ne poet plus getter. Et tout ceo cy nous enseignent les prodombres et les bons livres qe nous poons oier assez sovent si nous volons. Et si nous preignons bien ceo Triacle, nous n'avons garde qe nous nous espurgerons et gettrons hors le malveis venym q'est par dedeinz, par la puissance et grace de vous, Beau Sire Dieux.

"Mes ore su jeo celui qe su de si fort venym envenymez, qe le Triacle ne me vaut riens, car gaires ne poet entrer en moy ; et si riens y entre de ces bons enseignementz par l'oraille, mult volentiers feroit ceo pur qoi il y est entrez : et c'est pur faire issir hors a la bouche le venym q'est en moy de touz les ordes pecchez de qoi jeo su si pleyn, de la bouche par verrai confession issir. Mes si

[Continued on page 373.]

his recovery, he must be given some invigorating drink: this, to the repentant sinner, will mean that infinitely rare and precious beverage, the milk of the Virgin Mary.¹ If he becomes uncomfortably hot, rose water—for the making of which there are two processes, here described in detail—will refresh him: this represents the tears of the Blessed Virgin during the Passion, her grief and its causes being also depicted at length. If the illness takes a turn for the worse and the patient has fits of frenzy, a more vigorous remedy is called for: the bleeding body of a cock freshly killed is placed on his head: a figure of “the blessed Cock that crowed on the day when we were in gloom and darkness” (fol. 83). If, on the other hand, convalescence is near, care must be taken to prevent the recurrence of fever, by administering a sort of capon’s broth obtained by steaming the fowl in a tightly closed vessel. The patient’s thirst shall be quenched by the pips of a pomegranate, and his whole body refreshed by a bath in “eawe corante”; any wounds there may be shall be carefully dressed; and when at last the patient ventures on his own feet again, a solid stick will provide a support for him.

Every one of these helps to recovery is described in its material sense—and this is undoubtedly the most curious and informative aspect of the *Livre des Seintes Medicines*—as well as in its figurative interpretations, with a minuteness that may seem childish or daring to modern readers. Thus, the capon is

treffort est le pecche en moi et ad si longement estee, qe le Triacle ne puisse riens faire, si qe ceo qe y entre enpire plus qe ne profite; car de tant come jeo plus apreigne de bien, pis en sui si jeo meultz ne face apres, et ensi me torne le bien en mal, le Triacle en venym . . . et ensi me covendra briefment morir, voir, de la male mort, si jeo, Tresdouz Sirez et Meistrez, de vous socour et eide a mon grant bosoigne n’eye” (31-32v.).

¹ “. . . Et par ceo doit homme bien tesnir cest noble sirop en grante deyntee, car unqes ne feust fait forsqe diaux petiz barelles pleyns, qe benoite soient. Ceaux diaux barelles, s’estoient et sont les tresbeles et doucez mamelettes q’estoient pleyns d’un douz leet de virge, qe unqes ne feust veu ne jammes apres ne serra” (fol. 68v.).

Such comparisons no doubt appear crude when summed up or translated. But it is a tribute both to the freshness of the language and to the suave candour of the writer, that the impression made by the original is not at all one of coarseness or irreverence.

Christ who sweated blood for the salvation of sinners.¹ The pomegranate is grace, but also Christ's body, on which the wounds were as numerous as the red pips in the fruit.² The running water for the bath is the water that flowed from the wound caused by the spear.³ The "beaux blancz drapels" used for dressing the wounds and keeping the "air, dust, and flies" away from them shall be supplied by that "douce gardeyne," Mary; for, observes Lancaster, women are better nurses.⁴

Only lengthy quotations could show the extreme ingenuity of the author, who literally lets his imagination run away with him. Nor are 'medical' metaphors alone used as illustrations, in the first part especially. We find, for instance, a long comparison of the whole body to a fortified castle, of which the walls—where assaults succeed as often as those directed against the gates—are the hands and feet, and the heart the 'doungeon,' where innocence makes her last stand against the Tempter. Here the conqueror of La Roche Meilhan, Aiguillon and Rennes only needs to recall his experiences to provide us with ample details of the art of siege. His own sinful heart is then compared with: a whirlpool in the sea—i.e. the world with its hidden dangers—; a fox's hole, into which the conscience is driven, like a fox-terrier, to corner the beast and its cubs—i.e. the mortal sins—and any other vermin; and finally a public fair, the meeting ground of all vices. As a final instance of the method, we may quote the introduction to the second of these similes—describing the three manners in which 'veneours, parkeres and foresters' run the fox to earth,—and the last of these in detail:

¹ "Beau Sires Dieux, vous estes le chapon qi suastes, et de vous degouteront tant des gouttes d'un licour qe feust come sank tresprecious et tresseinte . . ." (fol. 99v.).

² "Et tout ensi pleyn estoit vostre douz corps de plaies, et ausi dreu seioient ensemble com le greynz rouges par dedeinz la pomme gernate" (fol. 102).

³ "C'est l'eawe seynt qe de vostre benoite costee corust ou le sank precious, qant de la lance, Douce Sires, estoietz feruz et si tresdurement enpoynt" (fol. 103v.).

⁴ "C'est bone custume qe qant l'en est durement desheitez, qe un femme est ordene a estre de lez luy, car plus suet et plus gracieusement le manye et toutz chosez ly fait plus plesamment qe ne ferroit une homme."

“When I dealt above with my heart and showed its wickedness, I compared it to three things : one, the vortex of the sea ; the second—of which I now have to speak, with your grace, Gentle Lord—, a large fox’s hole such as we find in our forests and woods.

“When foxes have done some mischief, they know well how to withdraw, lie still until their time comes, and hide where no one can find them unless they come out—in those holes which are everywhere : there they litter, right at the bottom in a corner. And if they were allowed to multiply, their numbers would so increase that much damage would be caused by them throughout the country.

“But in three ways huntsmen, parkers and foresters are wont to destroy those evil foxes’ holes :

“The first method is used when foxes are out to seek a prey or do some mischief—it being in their nature to do more evil than good. What do then huntsmen do ? They stop up all the holes and hunt the foxes until they catch them, for they then have nowhere to hide. And as foxes stink very much, the dogs chase and catch them all the more easily.

“The second manner is to catch them in their holes. All the outlets are stopped up, but one ; upon the latter a fire is lit, so that the smoke goes into the hole, where it destroys all the foxes and any other vermin that may be inside.

“The third manner is as follows : one chooses a little dog that is bold enough to enter the hole and will not rest until he has chased the fox up and down his hole and driven him into the far end. And as soon as he has done so, he stops and barks at the fox or any other evil beast that may be there. And the dog must needs be small, that he may pursue the fox through all the narrow channels in the hole. What does then the huntsman or forester who wishes to destroy such vermin ? As soon as he hears the dog bark at the cornered fox, he must take a rod and thrust it into the hole as far towards the dog as possible ; and the rod must be pliable in order to fit into the windings of the hole. Then he must take his pick-axe and other tools with which he may dig the hole open, following the rod, and make straight for the fox. One also digs large pits and trenches across the hole, in order to reach the fox in the quickest possible way. And when the fox is caught and pulled out, the first words one usually says are : ‘Fy ! Confound him ! What a stink !’ Such is a fox-watch.

“From this example it seems that I may well compare my wicked heart to the far corner in the fox’s hole, where foxes withdraw and stay and hide during the day-time, and out of which they go at night to seek their prey. They are the evil sins that lie in my heart and the vices that hide therein and rest in the day-time but come out at night to seize their prey. That is to say : the sins and other evils hide and rest in my heart and avoid showing themselves openly so as not to be seen—and this I call day-time. But at night they come out, and that is when no evil can be seen or known. At night it is dark, and in darkness the evil vices in my heart go forth, like foxes, and secretly do great harm to poor people, as foxes do to hens : for poor people’s goods are a prey to the evil vices in my heart as their hens are a prey to the fox ; and this happens at night, viz. in order that

no one may see it. Neither the fox nor I are so bold in the day-time, i.e. as to evil openly. Is it not right that such vermin should be destroyed ?

* * * * *

“ The third way to destroy foxes in their holes is, as has been said above, by digging behind the dog that goes forward into the hole and thrusting the rod in, and also by digging pits and trenches with pick-axes, shovels and spades and cutting out the roots that are in the way : thus, with great labour, is the fox reached in the corner where he has fled before the little dog called terrier, and pulled out with great joy, however stinking or worthless he may be. Thus indeed is it with me. I say this before God and all men : just as the fox is chased with a terrier until he is cornered, so is sin hunted hither and thither within me, through the mouth, the hands, the feet and all other places, until it is cornered in my heart and soul—for, as soon as it is cornered in the heart, it is in the soul.

Also the fox, once cornered and both unable and unwilling to go elsewhere—because he feels safe there where many a time he has escaped from other similar little dogs,—turns his back towards the corner and faces the dog in order better to defend himself against the terrier ; and thus he stands at bay longer than he would otherwise since, when facing the dog, he defends himself with his teeth, whereas, if he turned back, he would be seized by the dog’s teeth. The little dog is my conscience ; and, as the smaller the dog, the better, so the smaller—i.e. the stricter—my conscience, the better, as it can then go through all the narrow channels along which sins flee until they are either chased out at the mouth or cornered in the heart and soul. Here conscience must—if it is bold and fearless as the little dog must be—bark at the evil sin, quite close to it, and bite it. And what does sin to the conscience when it feels it so close ? It turns its back towards the corner and faces the dog to defend itself better. The face is the best part, and the back the worst, in all animals : there is no need to tell why, as everyone knows it. Thus sin turns its ugliest part towards the corner and the finest towards conscience to try and defend itself . . .

“ The dog’s master is the huntsman or forester whose office it is thus to destroy foxes, either in their holes or outside, on account of the damages they do. The huntsman or forester is my shrift-father who, like a huntsman, chases sins out of me : as a forester or park-keeper performs his duties as best he can and destroys all vermin, so the godly man does his utmost to keep virtues in me and drive all vices away. But, no doubt, just as it would be difficult, in a wood full of evil beasts and containing only a few good ones, to save the latter from being devoured by the former, so is it with me : I am so full of vices and sins, that the few virtues in me are devoured up by the vices ; and thus the forester’s watch proves vain, so plentiful is the vermin. May God help him when it please Him, and increase the game in the preserve, i.e. virtues, which I may call thus (‘ savagine ’) for so wild (‘ savages ’) are they that when you give me any, most gentle Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot seize or keep them.

“ Now, as I said before, if one wants to destroy the foxes in the hole—i.e. the vile sins in me,—the terrier must enter the hole and search until he finds the

fox, and then bark. The huntsman puts his ear on the opening, to hear how the terrier barks : from the barking he should know whether the fox is cornered and the dog barks at him or not. The terrier is my conscience which must go forward and bark at the sins that are cornered in my heart. The barking is shrift, which must come from a strict conscience ; and the sound comes forth at the mouth, where the confessor puts his ear, to know whether my conscience has chased sin down to the bottom and lies near it or not, i.e. to hear that the conscience neither fears humiliation nor wishes to leave anything until it has brought it to bay, as truthfully as possible and without reserve.

“ And when the master hears the dog barking, as has been said above, he must then drive a rod into the hole, in order to dig in the right direction until the fox is reached. The rod is all the good doctrines and teachings which I receive from my father in God and other good people, and many a good example ; and with the help of this rod which is pliable and bends along the windings of the hole, one may find and follow the direct way to sin.

“ It is a great relief when, as sometimes happens, one can reach the fox with the rod and, by twisting this around him, pull him out with hardly any digging. This rod ought to be strong ; and if it is made up with three long rods tied together, I believe one should pull the foxes out without digging. The three rods come from three trees ; these grow high and bear good fruit, and they are to be found in three places. Now, if it please God, I will tell the names of these three trees and where they are to be found. The first is called Truthful Confession, and this is to be found in the mouth where it issues forth ; the second is called Sorrowful Contrition and should be found in the innermost heart ; the third ought to be called Firm Hope of Mercy, and this comes from the soul. If I could find these trees in me and thus be able to make one rod with three others tied together, I should not doubt but that, with the help of the Holy Trinity, we should be able to pull out all the foxes with hardly any digging. And the three rods shall be tied together with a weed called Divine Grace : this weed grows in a spring, like water-cress ; let us seek this spring in Our Lady the Blessed Virgin : it is full of that weed which there grows and can be picked in plenty. Blessed be this spring where the precious weed grows : such a cress-bed is most necessary ; may we have access to it in our need. Amen.

“ But if the fox cannot be pulled out thus, then the huntsmen shall have to dig pits and trenches across the hole, as near as possible to the dog which lies before the fox, until he gets there. This means that when the three rods above mentioned cannot help except with hard penance, my shrift-father shall dig in me and cut out the roots of sin which may be found there by fast and discipline, and tear away the thorns that grow around me and over the holes—i.e. the vices which impede the digging for sins ; and these are better torn away with the hand, i.e. by giving alms and by doing good deeds and refraining from evil ones.

“ My shrift-father must dig with a spade and hold me down under his foot while digging into my flesh as into the ground, and he must remove with a shovel all the soil that has been dug out with the spade—i.e. the fleshly delights and evil

desires ; these the spade must all throw out, and clear the pit of all hindrances. And when one comes across hard soil or stones in me, one must set to work with the foot and strike hard into the soil : this is when the heart is found to be unyielding to teaching and remorseless, and weighed down as by a heavy stone that is an obstacle to the will of God. Then it becomes necessary to use a double-pointed pick-axe : one point strikes the ground—i.e. my flesh—with hard penance, the other with the fear of Hell's torments ; and this point is formidable, for it never becomes blunt, so well tempered it is. And thus must one work to destroy the sins in me, as one does to destroy the foxes in their hole and pull them out.

“ And, as I have said above, one pulls out the fox with great joy, however stinking he may be. One must, therefore, with great joy extirpate sin from the heart and throw it all away except the skin. The skin (or fur) of the fox is hung up in the Hall, for the Lord and everybody else to see ; and one hangs up twenty more readily than only one, while nobody would hang up the skins of sheep or other useful animals. So must it be with sins : one must keep the skin—i.e. retain the memory of them—before the eyes—namely the eyes of the heart,—in order that there may be such rejoicing as befits the occasion—sorrow and shame. One must want the vices to be seen by all, like the fox's fur, but not the skins of sheep—i.e. we must not want our virtues, if we have any, to be known, nor keep them before our eyes, for we should remember our virtues and the worldly goods given us by God as seldom as possible. Let us, as far as is in our power, thank this gracious Lord for what He sends us : no one has received so few gifts that he does not deserve still fewer, and no one has so many troubles that he has not deserved more, and so we must for everything be grateful to our gentle Lord Jesus Christ and give Him thanks and praise.”¹

¹ “ De sicome j'ai par devant touchee de coer et moustree la malveistee qi illoques giste et sojourne, a trois ai jeo comencee a comparer le coer : l'un si est le glout de la mere ; et l'autre si est de quoi jeo doi ore parler, par vostre grace, douz Sires, et a resenbler mon coer et a comparir : c'est a un grant courte de renars, qe homme trove en ces forestes et en ces bois.

“ Et les renars, qant il ont fait ascun male, trop bien se sevent la retraire et la reposer tantqe ils voient lour temps et se muscent la qe homme ne les poet veoir tantqe ils venent hors de pertuz qe sont de toutz partz, et en ces pertuz fount ils de joefnes, et c'est tout dedeinz en l'angle ; et qi les lerroit a covenir, ils multipliroient tant, qe grant damage par toute le pais ferroient.

“ Mes en trois guyses sont acoustomés ceaux veneours et les parkeres ou foresters a destruire cele male court de renars :

“ L'un manere si est qe qant ils sont hors pur quere lour proie et pur maufaire, sicom de nature lour vient affaire plus mal qe bien, adonques quei fount ces veneours ? Mes estopent touz lour pertuz et puis lour chacent dehors tantqe il les pernent, car ils ne se poent pas muscer. Et les renars ont tiel nature q'ils puent tresforte, siqe les chiens de tant meultz les chacent et preignent.

“ Et autrement les pernent ausi ben qant ils sont dedeinz la court : homme estope touz les pertuz forsqe un tout soul, et desus celui fait homme un fieu,

siqe la fume entre le pertuz et ne poet autre part issir si qe cele fume destruit et tue touz les renars qi sont dedeinz et autre vermyne si nul y a.

“Et la tierce manere si est : a prendre un petit chien qe soit apert et ose entrer lez pertuz et ne finera tantqe il eit le renard tant chacee a mont et a val en cele court q’il soit enanglez. Et si tost come le petite chien l’ad a ceo menee, il gist devant et abaie le renard ou autre male best qe par dedeinz soit ; et covient le chien estre petite, q’il puisse bien poursuivre le renard et estroitement par les estroitz pas qe sont en cele court. Et qei fait donques le veneour ou foresters qe ont desir a cele male vermyne destruire ? Si tost com ils ont oie le chien abaie le renard en l’angle, il doit prendre un verge et bouter dedeinz le pertuz au plus pres de chien, et doit la verge estre pliante, siqe elle se ploie solonc qe le pertuz se court, et puis prendre ses piks et ses autres oustis de qoi homme poet meultz fourir apertement et pursiure la verge q’est par devant boutee en le pertuz, si qe homme puisse bien tenir le droit chemin au renard. Et ausi fait homme grandismes fossees et trenchees en travers de pertuz au plus pres de renard qe homme poet pur meultz et plus tost avenir. Et qant il est pres et sakee dehors, le primer mot qe homme dist volentiers si est : *Fy ! Au diable ! Q’il put !*

“Ces sont vigiles au renard.

“Par cest ensample il me semble qe jeo puisse trop bien comparer mon malveis coer al angle q’est par dedeinz cest court de renars, ou les renars se treient einz et demorent et se muscent de jours, et de nuyt saillent hors pur quere lour proie. Ceaux sont les ordes pecchés qe sont en mon coer et les vices qe la se muscent et se reposent de jour et saillent hors de nuytz pur prendre lour proie : C’est a entendre qe les pecchés et les malveistés se muscent et se reposent en mon coer et ne se moustrent mye en apert ne clerement qe homme les puisse conoistre ; et ceo appelle jeo jours. Mes de nuyt s’en saut et c’est qant nul mal ne se purra veoir ne conoistre : c’est nuyt qant il est oscure, et oscurement s’en issent les males vices de mon coer, com renard, et privement font grant damage as pources gientz com le renard as gelynes, car ausi sont les biens de pources gienz la proie de les males vices de mon coer com lour gelynes sont au renard proie ; et de nuyt, c’est qe nul ne la aparceive, car de jour le renard ne moy ne sumes mye si hardy, c’est a dire a faire male en apert. Ore ne serroit il bon a destruire cele male vermyne ?

* * * * *

“La tierce manere coment homme destruit les renars en la court si est par fourir, come est dit pardevant, ou le chien q’entre devant en le pertuz et puis si boute homme la verge, et donques si fait homme les fossees et les trenchés ou piks, paelles, et beches, et arace homme les racyns q’homme y trouve et coupent, et ensi par grant labour vient homme au renard, si le prent homme en l’angle ou il s’en est fuy devant le petite chien qe homme appelle terrer et le sake homme hors a grande joie, ne soit il ja si puant ne de si petite value. Certes ensi est il de moi : ceo face jeo asavoir a Dieux et a touz gientz, com le renard q’est en la grande court chacee ou le terrer tantqe il soit enanglez, tout ensi est le pecché par my moi, cea et la, par bouche, mayn et piee, et par touz les autres lieux tantqe il soit enanglez en coer et l’alme ; car si tost come il est fermement en l’anglee en coer, il est en l’alme.

“Et sicom le renard, qant il est en l’angle q’il ne poet plus avant ne aillours ne vorreit estre, car la se tient mult asseur com celui qi s’est illoques meynt foize

garranti d'autrez si faitz petitz chiens, il tourne son deriere en l'angle, et le visage devers le chien pur soi meultz defendre contre le terrer, et ensi se fait abaier plus longement par devant q'il ne ferroit par deriere, car de visage se defent il as dentz et au deriere serroit il pris as dentz. Le petite chien si est ma conscience ; et sicom plus qe le chien soit petite et meultz vaut, ensi est il de la conscience : tant qe elle plus soit petite, c'est a dire estroite, meultz vaut si qe elle puisse aler et tourner les estroites voies et tout le chemyn qe les pecchés s'enfuient devant tantqe le pecché soit chacee hors a la bouche ou enanglez en coer et en l'alme, et la doit la conscience le vil orde pecché abaier, et ceo de bien pres, si soit apert et hardy com doit estre le petite chien et mordre le deveroit. Mes qei fait donques le pecché a la conscience, qant il le sente de pres ? Mes tourne son deriere en l'angle, et le visage devers le chien pur soy meultz defendre. Homme doit jugger le visage de toutz bestes communalment pur le plus bel, et le deriere pur le plus lede : il ne covient my dire la cause, car chescun le seit par soi meismes. Ensi fait le pecché qi tourne ses ordures en l'angle et le plus beal mette contre la conscience pur soy defendre s'il poet. Et ceo lesse abaier au visage, c'est a les meyndres et meyns ordz pecchez, et sont touz les plus ords tourne en l'alme par l'angle de coer, come dist est. Mes qant lui meistre vendra pur fouir apres le renard il trouvera ausi bien le deriere q'est en l'angle com le visage qe le chien abaie, et par l'abaier de l'un si avient homme a l'autre.

"Le meistre si est veneour ou forester qe de ces choses se mellent et le deivent faire de lour office destruire les renars, soient ils en lour pertuz ou dehors, pur le damage q'en vient. Le veneour ou forester, c'est mon confesseur qi chace sicom veneour les pecchés hors de moi, et sicom forester ou parker garde sa baillie out tout son poair et destruyt tout vermyne. Ensi fait le prodhomme qi mette tout sa peyne a moi garder en bons vertues et en chacer toutez males vices. Mes certes come serroit en un bois pleyn de vermyne et de males bestes une bien poi de bones bestes, males a garder qe les malveises ne devorassent les bons ; tout ausi est il de moi qe sui si pleyn de vices et de pecchés qe les vertues qe sont mult poi en moi sont par les vices tout destruit et devourez. Et ensi ne poet ceo meistre forester riens faire a sa male garde, tant de vermyne y a. Dieux l'en delivre qant il lui plest et encresce la savagyne—ce sont les vertues qe jeo puisse bien ensi appeller, car si savages sont en moy, qe jeo ne les sai happer ne prendre ne retenir qant elles me sont doneez par vous, mon tresdouz Seigneur Jesu Crist.

"Or, sicom j'ai dit devant, qi vorra destruire les renars qi sont en la court—ces sont les ords pecchés qi sont en moy—, le terrer covient entrer en la court et sercher tantqe en eit trovee le renard, et puis abaier ; et le veneour doit mettre l'oraille au pertuz pur oier coment le terrer abaie, et par son abay doit il savoir s'il soit enanglez et s'il baie apres ou none. Le terrer si est la conscience qe deust aler devant pur chacer et abaier les pecchez qe sont en coer enanglez ; abaier, c'est confesser, qe doit venir d'un bon estroite conscience, et le soun del abay doit issir a la bouche ou le confesseur doit mettre son oraille pur savoir si ma conscience ad tant chacee le pecché q'il soit en l'angle et s'il gist pres ou noun : c'est q'il entende bien qe la conscience sanz doute de honte ou de riens esparnier qe hardiement ne soit toute abaie et ausi pres com l'en poet de la verité sanz repentir.

"Et qant le meistre avera oij le chien abaier, sicom avant est dit, adonques doit il bouter un verge dedeinz : c'est pur tenir le droit voie de pertuz a fouir tantqe

homme vient au renard en l'angle. La verge, si est les bones doctrines et les bones enseignementz qe mon pier en Dieux et autres bons gientz me dient, et meynt bon ensample ; si qe par ceste verge q'est pliante et qi se ploie ausi torte com le pertuz est tort, pur tenir le chemyn et ensercher la voie au pecché tout droit.

“ Et est un grant conforte qant homme poet ascun foïze venir a toucher le renard ou la verge et, par entortiller la, si tire homme le renard a la foïze sanz gaires fouir. Cest verge si covient estre auques fortelette et, mesqe ele soit fait de trois verges qe soient lieez ensemble, et q'elles soient asseez longues, jeo croi qe sanz fouir homme sakera bien hors les renars ; et croissent ces trois verges de trois arbres hors, qe croissent haut et portent bon fruyt. Et ces trois arbres dont celles verges doivent estre, covient ausi qe elles se trovent en trois lieux. Ore, si Dieu plect, dierei jeo coment ces trois arbres ont a nounce et ou homme les doit trouver : La primere arbre si est appelee verrey confession : celle doit homme trouver en la bouche et de la venir. La seconde arbre homme appelle dolorous contricion, et celui devoit homme trouver en coer parfond. La tierce arbre devoit avoir a nounce ferme esperance de mercy, et celui crest et ist de l'alme. Et si jeo puisse trouver ces trois arbres en moi de qoi jeo me puisse faire un verge de trois lieez ensemble, jeo ne doutroie mye qe, ou l'eide de la Sainte Trinité, sanz fouir gaires plus, nous sakerons hors touz les renars l'une apres l'autre. Et les trois verges coveneront estre lieez ensemble d'un herbe q'omme appelle la grace de Dieux, et celle herbe si crest en fontaigne si com le cresson : celle fontaigne querons en Nostre Dame la benoite Virge et nous la troverons tout pleyne de cel herbe, car crest la elle sanz faute habondaument, et si poet homme coiller si voelt a plantee. Benoit soit celle sours de fontaigne en qoi si precieus herbe crest ; ceo est un bien bosoignable cressoner. A nostre bosoigne en puissons avoir. Amen.

“ Et si ensi ne poons uncore le renard traire hors, il covenera le veneour a faire trenchés et fossees en travers de pertuz, a plus pres q'omme poet de chien qi gist au renard, tantqe homme y puisse avenir. Et c'est a entendre qe la ou les trois verges devant ditz ne purroient tout faire qe par dures penances il coveneroit mon confessour fouir en moy et trencher les racynes de pecché q'il en moy troveroit, par junes, disciplines, et aracer les espines qe crescent et envirinont moy et sur les pertus—ces sont les vices qe destourbent a bien fouir apres les pecchez, et ceaux covient estre araceez par force de mayn—c'est pur faire almoignes et bons oeuvres de la mayn et lesser les mals.

“ Et ove la beche fouir covient mon confessour et me tenir desuz le piee en fouir en ma char sicome en terre, et de la paele ouster la terre qe de la beche serra foy—c'est les delices de la char et les malveis desirs—tout doit la paele getter en voie et nettoier la fosse de toutz ociosités. Et le piee doit homme mettre en oeuvre de moy, qant homme trouvera dure terre ou pieres ; adonques ne dont homme mye esparnier a doner apiee grantz coups en terre : c'est qant homme trove le coer dur encontre seignementz et nient repentant et ait gisant sur le coer com pierre ascune pesantie qe ne poet soeffrir bonement la volenté de Dieux : adonques covient le pik q'est ou diaux poyntz ; l'un poynt si doit ferir en terre—c'est en ma char par poignantes penances, et l'autre par dout de la peyne d'enferm, et cel poynt doit estre mult redoutee car elle ne ploie mye si bien est enasceree. Et en tiele manere covient il a laboere pur destruire les pecchés qe sont en moy, com homme fait pur les renars destruire en la court et tirer hors.

" Et, sicom j'ai dit icy devant, a grande joie le sake homme hors, ne soit il ja si puant. Grande joie donques doit homme avoir de ses ords puantz pecchez a saker hors de coer et getter avoie tout forsque la peel. La peel de renard fait homme pendre en la sale, si qe le seignur et touz autres la poent veoir ; et plus voluntiers de vynt qe d'un tout soul ; et bien envys pendroient en la sale devant les gientz les peals de berbitz ne d'autres bons bestes. Ensi doit homme faire de pecchés : retenir la peel, c'est la remembrance avoir toudys com pendu en la sale devant les oeux, c'est a dire overtment devant les oeux de coer, si qe il puisse avoir tiele joie com il appartient—c'est fyn dolour et honte ; et doit voloir qe les vices soient veues et conues de touz com le peel de renard, et celle de berbitz nient : ausi ne doit il les vertues voloir nient estre conues, si nules y soient, ne veoir devant ses oeux ; c'est qe nule remembrance homme doit avoir de vertues ne des biens de ceo monde qe Dieux nous envoie, forsque a plus petit qe nous poons. Et le mercions, cest bon Seignur, de ceo q'il nous envoie, tant come nous plus poons, car nul n'ad si petit q'il n'ait asseez meyns deservy de bien ; et nul n'ad tant de male qe asseez plus n'ad deservi ; si qe de tout nous devons mult mercier a nostre douz Seignur Jesu Crist et mult ly gracier et loer."

But Lancaster's flights of imagination are not confined within the limits of such lengthy comparisons. The whole text is teeming with minor passages which, in their brevity, are no less curious.

Thus, on Easter Sunday, Henry of Lancaster has received his Lord and Master in holy communion. In an exquisitely tender thanksgiving prayer, he describes the jealous care with which a poor man prepares to receive his Lord in his humble but thoroughly clean abode, out of which the cat has been chased that used to lie in the best chair. But, alas, as soon as the Lord has gone, dirt soon covers everything again, and the cat—i.e. of course the Devil—is allowed to resume its favourite place (fol. 51v.-53). To cure certain ills, a popular remedy is goat's milk in May ; for, " it is said that the herbs eaten by the goat in May give the milk the virtue they have derived from the sun, and which the sun has derived from God. And what is the milk of such an ugly animal, compared with the milk of her who (*lit.* of that beautiful beast who) derives her virtues not from herbs or the sun, but directly from God himself, i.e. the Virgin ? " ¹

¹ " Dist homme qe des herbes qe la chevere mangeust en May si en prent le leet sa vertu, et les herbes preignent lour vertuez de solail, et le solail de Dieux. . . . La beaſt beste, c'est la beste qe ne prent poynt sa vertue del herbe ne de solail, mes de principale, c'est de Dieux meismes " (69v.).

Some people say that white wine is preferable to water for washing wounds. Therefore "vorroie jeo comparer le douce Virge a un grape de reysine q'est issue de la vigne de Jesse" (74*v.*). A salmon is only a mere kipper so long as it has not been in the sea and derived therefrom its nature, its flavour and its value. Similarly, sins are not mortal until from the senses they pass into the heart (44).

As those "surgens qe sont a ces escoles de Monpellers et aillours" are given the bodies of executed criminals to dissect for their instruction and the benefit of mankind, so does the author wish his soul to be laid open before his Maker, and its diseases diagnosed for the benefit of his readers (44*v.*). Fortified places are taken by attacks at the walls rather than at the gates, "si com il est bien sovent apparant en ces guerres" (42*v.*).

When a man often takes part in tournaments, his nose generally betrays the fact.¹

More personal are the confessions proper, which remain more reserved than we should have liked and, if we are to believe the author, give only a feeble idea of the corruption and malice of his soul. Even so, the repeated enumerations of his failings, classified under the several deadly sins, are exhaustive enough.

He tells us of his vanity: "When I was young and strong and agile, I prided myself on my good looks, my figure, my gentle blood and all the qualities and gifts that you, O Lord, had given me for the salvation of my soul."² He also took pride, among other things, in the fine rings on his hands, the elegance of his foot in the stirrup, his shoes, his armour, his ability as a dancer, or the garters which, he thought, befitted him so well—though his opinion was worthless—; and if he heard anyone praise his accomplishments, his joy knew no bounds.³ Sloth

¹ "Et sicome un homme qe va moelt a ces turnois, plus y piert au nees sovent qe autre part" (71).

² "Qant jeo fui joefnes et me senti fort et legier et me plesoit ma bealtee et ma taille ou ma gentilesce et les vertus et graces qe vous, Sires, m'avetz ordenee pur salver m'alme" (fol. 9).

³ "Qant jeo me sui meismes mal avisee . . . qe le piee me seoit bien en l'estru, ou autrement de chausoure ou de armure, ou de daunser ou legier piee et les garters qe bien me seioient a mon avys qe gaires ne vaut; et si jeo en oise parler, ma fole joie en estoit greignure de tant et passoit mesme tout outre" (fol. 38*v.*).

[Continued on page 384.]

seems to have been his great failing, chiefly preventing him from rising in time to hear mass (fol. 12*v.*). But he also sinned through overindulgence and excessive refinement in food and drink (fol. 11). Even the sense of smell was a frequent occasion of sin to him, as when he delighted in the sweet scent of the ladies or of anything appertaining to them, or again when he took an inordinate pleasure in smelling the fine scarlet cloth.¹ His sensuality showed itself in many other ways, but he recalls with particular bitterness his depraved taste for the 'leccherous kisses' of common wenches—or worse—whom he liked all the more because, unlike good women, they would not think the worse of him for his conduct.²

But no less effective than those multiple references to his time or his personal circumstances is the tone of gentle candour that pervades the whole work. There is a note of profound dignity but also one of infinite tenderness in the way he constantly addresses the Deity or the Virgin Mary: "Beau Sire Dieux," "Douz Sire," "Douce Dame." So genuine are the feelings and the accents that a systematic search for external sources or authorities would, no doubt, be poorly rewarded. For instance, we rarely find the recognised trappings of allegory, although we read of "Symplesse, Debonairtee, Pitee and Charitee" as the four rivers flowing from the "fontaine de toutes graces, Humblesce"; of "Desir-d'estre-riche, Doute-d'estre-poure, and Sanz-Conscience-consentement," the three door-keepers of the ear (f. 24*v.*) who bar the entrance against

Henry of Lancaster was one of the very first Knights of the Garter. In the lists of the members of the Order, his name follows immediately those of Edward III himself, the founder, and of his son, the Black Prince.

¹ "Et ausi ai jeo, Sire, par grant delit fleiree ascunes femmes ou ascunes choses de lour, pur qoi jeo sui le plus tost cheu en pecché. . . ."

"Car mult en ai jeo coveitee a flerer et en plus grant delite en les riches choses, come en ces escarlettes, lesquelles j'ai coveitee le drap pur le flerour plus qe pur autre chose" (fol. 26*v.*).

² "Car pur moi le die jeo qe plus volentiers eusse une lede poure garce beisee deshoneste de son corps, qe jeo n'eusse fait une bone femme de grant estat, ne feust elle ja si bele; et de tant come elle amoit plus Dieux, servoit et cremoit, de tant meyns me pleust le beiser et me savouroit moelt petit et riens ne me delitoit si jeo ne pensase q'elle male pensast ou penseroit et le plus tost par mon malveise baiser" (fol. 91).

"Pité, Equité, Charité" (f. 26), but let in "Poour, Honte and Volenté feynte" (f. 33); and again of "Glotonye" and his four lieutenants: "Desir, Assent, Delit and Outrage" (f. 27v.).

One of the most striking features of the style—one which, in its way, is also a reflection of the author's character, and is not otherwise unknown in contemporary writings, English or French—is its 'préciosité.' This is evident in the thoroughness, already pointed out, of the similes. It appears in many far-fetched spiritual applications, of which the following is another amusing instance: The best rose water, says Lancaster, though perfectly white, is made with red roses. These, and the finished product have therefore only one thing in common; the perfume. What does this mean? It means that the white tears (of the Virgin during the Passion) that were caused by the red wounds (of Christ) have only pain (moral in the one case, physical in the other) in common with them. Now, between the perfume ("l'odour") and the pain ("dolour") there is only one difference: the interchange of 'l' and 'd.' He consequently prays that he may change 'd' to 'l,' and that "l'odour" may be turned into "dolour" for him, i.e. that he may pass from the "dolour" of Hell to "l'odour" of Heavenly bliss.¹

Another manifestation of the same tendency is the author's fondness for juggling with homonyms, with an effect not unlike that of alliteration. Illustrations of this can, of course, only be given in the original:

"Beau Sire Dieux, donetz moi grace qe jeo puisse prendre ensample par le renard coment jeo doie destruire les ords pecches qe sont en la *court* de mon *corps*: et *court* se poet nomer le *corps*, car *court* serra son *cours* et nul ne siet come *court* il *court*" (fol. 29).

"Et ensi par ces trois resons bien poet homme appeller celle *medicene sauve*; et bien serroit *sauf* qe de celle *saue* purroit un soul *goute sauvoirer*" (fol. 36v.).

"Ma tresexcellente Dame Seynt Marie, ore ai jeo vous moustree le *seinte*

¹ "C'est a entendre ausi qe les blanches cleres lermes qe vindrent de rouges plaies ne resenbloient pas forsqe *dolour*. Et entre l'odour et *dolour* n'y a qe petite difference de changement de diaux lettres, c'est de *d* et de *l*. . . Qe jeo peusse changer de *d* a *l*, c'est de la *dolour* d'enfern a l'odour de la joie de Paradis" (fol. 78v.).

et le *seyn* boire qe de vostre *seyn* issi, le qele boire me poet sanz faute de tout garrir de mon male et de mes ordes plaies par dedeinz bien nettoier et espurger de *venymous venym* dont ils sont *envenymez* " (fol. 37).

" Et celle douce mort nous ad deliveree de la *dure* morte qe *dure* et *durra* sanz fyn et plus *dure* qe nul *endurrer* purra " (fol. 75v.).

* * * * *

It may be that, upon a closer examination than it has been possible to record here, competent judges will declare the *Livre des Seintes Medicines* barely fit to interest that notoriously easy-to-please individual, the Philologist. That it has, at least, this merit no one will dispute, for very few Anglo-Norman works have reached us in a language so consistent and so comparatively correct; none gives a better illustration of what became of French when English, progressing in the wake of the national spirit and rehabilitated by Rolle, Langland and Chaucer, became again *the* language of England.

Superior minds like Taine may decide that it is neither better nor worse than the rest of that 'muck heap,' the religious literature of Mediæval England.

But critics with less bias, with a greater indulgence and a truer sense of the importance of the *milieu* for the appreciation of any work will, no doubt, pay a tribute to the lovable character of a man who, in spite of worldly power, wealth and achievements, retained the simplicity of a little child. They may even, remembering that Chaucer had close relations with the House of Lancaster,—that as a young 'valet,' made his first appearance in the field during the Duke's last campaign being then taken prisoner by the French—find some affinity between both men, if not between their productions. And, turning away from the Middle Ages, they will not fail to recognise a striking resemblance between the genius of Lancaster and that of another great 'gentleman' to whom no one will deny an honourable place in French literature, St. François de Sales.

“WHAT IS A PEASANTRY?”¹

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WE who have been brought up in the traditions of England of the nineteenth century have been inclined to picture man too exclusively as a profit-seeking being and our nation as a mass of individuals who have given up some of their individual liberty for the sake of society's security for property and, in a limited measure, life. It is for this reason that there seems ground for looking at life from another point of view. Man is fundamentally a social being; society is, in however crude and imperfect a form, a primal feature of our race, even possibly a heritage from prehuman ancestors, and it is within society that conscious individuality has had the opportunity to grow.

Our British rural population now forms a very diminished proportion of the whole, so much diminished in fact that legislative and other schemes are naturally framed to suit in the first place the needs of the urban concentrations. None the less, most thinkers are agreed that the rural tradition is of special importance for the continuance of society. We may, therefore, with profit turn our attention to that form of society for which the name peasantry is in fairly general use.

When we think of a peasantry we have a picture of people living by agriculture, and it will be useful to begin by trying to see whether that picture is adequate. We hardly apply it to the African agriculturist of the warm wet forests nor are we clear about using it for the African cultivator of the warm grasslands. We do on the other hand use it freely for the villagers of India

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of March, 1937.

though hardly for the Indian coolies on the estates of British Guiana or Trinidad. We should not apply it to the nomad Kirghiz, but it is specially consecrated to describe the rural populations of most parts of the continent of Europe, our own country folk being somehow not quite within the scope of the term.

It is therefore evident that something more than dependence on agriculture is in our minds when we speak of a peasantry, and it is the object of this address to try to give some account of the characteristics of a few aspects of the evolution of a peasantry.

The ancestors who gave rise to mankind lived by gathering food, but at a very early stage of development of our race we ventured out on to the open grasslands, began to grade towards the habit of walking erect, keeping our hands free for using wood, bone or stones that were shaped into tools, and we began to develop that great feature which so distinguishes human society and is in a sense the basis of all civilisation—namely the increased differentiation of men's work from women's work. Man took to hunting animals, and woman gave what time she could to collecting after attending to her special interests and increased duties connected with children, increased because babies were now more helpless till they had learned to walk erect. Her children began to help her as soon as they had acquired the art of walking erect, and she contributed largely to the development of language through her prolonged and more intimate intercourse with them.

Hunting is a speculation, collecting is a steadier and more localised affair. Hunting meant movement over long distances; separation of men and women meant the development of a focus for return, a home and a fire under the woman's care. But the home must change from time to time for the sake of the hunting. We have for the most part more or less nomadic peoples among the hunter-collectors, and this in our minds is one of many reasons for not bringing them anywhere near the class we call a peasantry.

It was from the collecting, that is from the woman's side of the life of hunter collectors, that cultivation developed; and the legacy of this in folk memory has given us the story of Eve, adjusted no doubt by priestly prejudice, making her responsible

for what is called the fall of man, whereas she was the initiator of the great advance to food production by cultivation. Cultivation almost certainly began before the herding of animals. The herder has been again and again the lord and master of the cultivator, and only now and then has a Cain been able to get even with an Abel whose offering has been apt to find favour with the gods, thanks to the military superiority of the herdsman.

Lowly cultivation without accompanying herding is largely a woman's affair, pursued, as is her inevitable tendency, as secondary or accessory to her interests and duties connected with children, and therefore not very likely to be elaborated by long concentration of attention and initiative. As it began, it was cultivation, with digging stick and then hoe, of a patch perhaps cleared in the bush or burned on the grassland by the men. The patches cultivated by a number of women near a group of huts, which were built around a place for consultations and dancing and were surrounded in turn by a defensive work of some kind, would in most cases be used for a few years and then left to recover. As by this time the huts would doubtless be decrepit and verminous in a high degree, they would be abandoned, and the land, too, if there were abundant space as was the case in days of sparse population and small yields. The generalisation here sketched concerning the division of work between the sexes applies only in certain cases. In others, especially where one group has conquered another, one often finds that the men of the conquered group are set to do the work of cultivation along with the women, while the men among the conquerors may hunt and herd and fight.

We hesitate to apply the name peasantry to people whose cultivation patches are used to exhaustion and then discarded. The mobility of the population that is a necessary consequence does not fit into the picture of peasant life, though we do apply the name of peasantry to folk who move a certain amount, for example to hill pastures in summer. These people are, however, more or less permanently linked to a piece of soil on which they live and work for a part of each year. We also hesitate to apply the name peasantry in cases in which cultivation is left almost exclusively to the women or to the men of conquered groups.

The co-operation of men and women in regular field work is one feature of what we generally call a peasantry, and this is not sufficiently developed in most of intertropical Africa.

Near the rivers of the warm dry lands matters developed otherwise. The silt from the river floods renewed the fertility of the land on either side so that it could grow crops year after year. The very dry areas beyond yielded little that was worth hunting. The cultivator's side of the food quest was made far more important than the hunter's. On a flood plain, too, the digging of ditches was early found to be useful to drain the land as well as to extend the utility of the flood water. And spade-work was something for men more than for women, whose tools had been the digging stick and hoe. Ditches meant sooner or later a canal system, with some superior authority enforcing care of the canals in preparation for the floods at a time calculated by astronomical observations which led to the establishment of a calendar with festivals related to the major operations of cultivation. These festivals with their celebration of the inauguration or completion of seed time or harvest might have behind them ideas of sympathetic magic which seem to us to be infantile, but, so long as these ideas were not too generally criticised, they served to give ritual and emotional outlets to people who might otherwise have lost vitality through imprisonment in routine. The festivals might be occasions on which tabus were temporarily lifted and a great deal of licence was permitted, yet they generally served, at a certain stage of social development, to develop and maintain social tone and the more regular performance of the cultivators' duties. They set a standard that tended inevitably towards conscious realization by the people of a standard of good and evil, and they also made life more colourful with opportunities for decoration and dancing as well as celebrations of other kinds.

In the case of peoples near the rivers of ancient civilization a population developed in villages near the river bank irrigating and cultivating the land by complementary work of the two sexes. The villages were durable, indeed the building of new houses on the platform of the remains of old ones raised the settlement higher above the floods. The land was valuable in perpetuity

and the cultivators held to it and, at times, were linked to it by authority. The cultivators became a class standing out in contrast to rulers and star-gazing priests, and their life attained considerable regularity in an annual cycle marked by ceremonial that inevitably emphasised the idea of fertility.

We form this picture especially of the life of the cultivators near the Euphrates, the rivers of Damascus and Palestine and the Nile, though the west parts of Palestine seem to have had a covering of bushy woodland that had to be cut before the experiment of cultivation could spread thoroughly over it, sometimes with the disastrous result of laying open the soil of slopes to heavy rain-wash. This danger was met by the art of terracing, and so precious was the soil that, in rocky areas, the houses were often built on rock-ledges. The wise man would clear the ledge before building and so build on the rock itself instead of on the debris of stone and sand from previous rock-falls that covered the rock. The parable of the house built on the rock and the house built on the sand is based upon this.

Irrigation and terracing are, however, occasional accompaniments of peasant life rather than essential features. They nevertheless point to a general characteristic—the desire for maintenance on a higher level—and one may incidentally refer to a special consequence of this in some cases, as in parts of China. This consequence, especially of irrigation, is the habit of planting seedling beds and, inevitably, of selecting the better seedlings for transplantation, thus promoting that great step forward which is the improvement of plant breeds, a feature of at any rate some higher peasantries in spite of general rural conservatism. This emphasis on improvement by selection is one of the features that lifts Chinese rural life to a level higher than that of the cruder traditionalism of many other lands and leads on towards the artistic achievements of China. Women appear to have played a considerable part in this matter of improvement of plant breeds through selection and it is desirable here again to represent a peasantry as a society in which men and women co-operate in the work of cultivation. It has become the essential work of the men, it is the accessory work of the women.

The ideas of sympathetic magic that have been so important

in rural life, the doing of something in the faith that this act will promote success in an analogous act in another sphere, have led to another important development characteristic of peasant life. This idea of sympathetic magic has grown especially in connection with fruitfulness, and the bearing of children has widely been considered an important part of what may be called the appropriate magic for success in cultivation. It would be of little value to summarise here the facts about fertility rites which have grown out of this. They are practically world-wide among agriculturists above the lowest stages and have been accompanied by the growth of the idea of the mother goddess, a religious feature in the background of agricultural life in the Mediterranean, Europe and many parts of Asia but not developed in intertropical Africa or among peoples dependent on hunting. It may be considered to be a general feature of a peasant tradition though it has more or less passed away among some of the peasantries of Western Europe, not however without leaving interesting traces in many localities. Both the above idea of sympathetic magic and the high infant mortality of rural life encouraged large families and this tendency to large families is another widespread, indeed practically general, peasant characteristic. It would seem that the idea of having every adult mated was a feature of older date and earlier phases and that it persisted with modifications among agricultural populations on the level of a peasantry. Among some peasantries in Eastern Europe the proportions of the two sexes were so nearly equal that, in rural life, practically all married, but in the west that equality of proportions does not obtain and the unmarried woman has become a fact of social life, a fact obviously repugnant to the peasant tradition.

To return now to the technique of cultivation. When men had brought the spade into use, they followed this by harnessing animals to it, and the plough became a characteristic of peasantries, in fact one of the clearest marks of differentiation between them and the lowlier cultivators. In cases of poverty, cows have often been used to draw the plough but among peasantries for the most part the cow as a producer of calves and of milk is too valuable for this. The bull would be too difficult to manage, but peasantries very generally learned in antiquity to castrate animals

to be used for work. One result of castration is that the oxen put on fat, and, in this way, peasantries have gained a supply of food, specially valuable as they spread into regions of hard winter cold. One has only to think of bones split by hunting peoples to get the marrow to realise the keen search for fat that early man had to keep up. With the specialisation of the ox for work seems to have gone that of the cow for milk and, as the men worked the plough and looked after the larger animals for the most part, the women came to look after milk and milk products. This is another feature of contrast between peasantries and lowlier agricultural groups among whom it is often a rule that women do not milk animals or deal with the milk afterwards.

If the ox could draw the plough he could draw a drag or sled or a wheeled cart. Human portorage in hunting groups and among lowly cultivators was often inevitably portorage by the women so that the men might be ready to use their weapons at a moment's notice. The substitution of animal portorage and traction for a good deal of human portorage is a peasant feature, though carrying on the head, and carrying water, remain characteristic activities of the women among many peasantries.

Whatever may have been the original home and the original circumstances of the evolution of pottery, it undoubtedly took a great step forward when the peasant phase of society came into existence. Still handmade without much mechanical aid, it remained the woman's affair, but, with the introduction of the wheel, the era of technical progress came in and it passed over to the men and became a specialised craft of certain men who practised it for the community. Division of labour among the men of a community is a feature older than the peasant tradition, but it has been carried farther by that tradition and brought into closer relation with the idea of exchange within a community that is, in the main, self-sufficing. The autarchic or entirely self-contained community is however rare, and no peasantry has each community entirely governing itself and independent of all external control. In North Africa there is a considerable development of annual and of weekly fairs or markets which have been specially studied by Fogg (see "Geography," Vol. XVII., pp. 257 ff., 1932). The annual fair, to which the Berber name

of Mouggar is often applied, may last for several days and is traditionally connected with a Marabout, a person claiming descent from Muhammad and, through his sanctity, helping to assure peace and safety for those who come to the fair. Such fairs are opportunities for exchange between different regions, often with different products, and they may be held at some intermediate or frontier spot which need not have had any agglomeration of population settled near it at first. Many such annual fairs were, and are, held near the tomb of some holy man and they may have lost their distant connections and become largely local events. The date of the annual fair is typically linked with a religious festival that brings people together at the holy place.

The Arab name of Suq or Sok is usually employed for the weekly fair, and it has local police and legal organisation. It often takes place where there is no permanent building, but there may be a fort or a sacred place or both. There are tents for officials, police, tax gatherers, legal advisers and so on, while around these tents are grouped traders, the salesmen of a particular type of goods being typically assembled together. The Suq will give opportunities for purchase of specialised manufactures that it may be beyond the power of most villages to produce or at any rate to produce cheaply enough. But it also gives opportunity for any cultivator or craftsman to offer his surplus of whatever he may produce.

Both the weekly and the annual fair gather entertainers of many kinds and some fairs, of both kinds, have acquired permanent buildings, have indeed in all probability become the nuclei of villages and towns.

A village with a temple has in numerous cases become a market or fair centre, the fair being frequently held on the outskirts where rough buyers and sellers from afar may stay for a few days without too grave danger to the peace of the village or town. The widespread cult of S. Giles connected with wandering traders in Western Europe is a feature of our old towns in their relations with the peasantry round about ; a church dedicated to him often stands near the far end of a fair ground.

Fairs and markets, arising either with or without the original

accompaniment of a settlement, are a feature of peasant life, and have contributed to the growth of towns and cities. It is one of the merits of Fogg's work that he is giving us a picture of what must have been in some measure characteristic of an early stage of the evolution of towns and cities in many peasant regions, though we may now have no trace of this.

Broadly we may say that a peasantry is related to fairs and markets usually in towns and cities to which the peasants come on fair and market days. It thus stands out in contrast with the burghers (bourgeois) of the towns and cities, and this contrast is a part of the definition.

The towns have typically become centres of government as well as of exchange, and it may be stated, almost generally, that a peasantry does not entirely govern itself, but is rather under external authority, though it may have someone on the spot like our historic lord of the manor in Western Europe to exercise some measure of rule.

The military superiority of herding groups has already been referred to, and most peasant populations have been conquered by herders who have contributed organisation in some, though not in all, cases. And then, as is said in Genesis VI, “The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair . . .” and so the conquerors have usually melted into the general population, and another wave of conquest has come later on. The frequent existence of the herder-conqueror side by side with the peasant tradition has, however, been a factor of subsequent thought that has led men to compare the one with the other and to try to work towards a higher unity which in the end has weakened the rigidly restrictive framework of early agricultural ritual and made its background of sympathetic magic fade. But the rise of generalized thought has rarely penetrated the peasantry, and they retain to this day in most regions a variety of practices and beliefs of immemorial antiquity.

The relation of a peasantry to the land it cultivates is a very large subject beyond the scope of this paper, and it must suffice to point out that, primarily, land is not looked upon as property to be bought or sold; it is something to be used and in the first instance used by a group in some way that is to be decided by

a leader or group of elders on behalf of the group or in negotiation with an external authority. Neither the external authority nor the local leader is primitively looked upon as an owner who can dispose of the land, he can merely give permission for its use, whether by individual households, as happens so widely among lowly peoples in Africa, or by communities of peasants or by separate peasant families. If only for purposes of protection, the peasant groups have traditionally lived in agglomerated fashion—in villages—and the dispersion of habitations over a countryside is often a secondary feature. This is stated with full realization of the views of Meitzen (*Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, 1895) concerning the Einzelhof or Dispersed Habitat as the old-style arrangement west of the Rhine and in Celtic Britain. Since his day it has been shown, in a few regions of Einzelhöfe, that that scheme has superseded a scheme of village-agglomerates, but, whether this be true generally or not, the background seems to be rather some kind of communal establishment than scattered family-homesteads. The details do not concern us here, it is enough for the present argument that heads of households among land workers have usually had rights and duties associated with land traditionally attached to a community or the leader of a community. In many parts of Europe north of the Mediterranean the scheme of cultivation may have been settled by communal or other prescription to ensure a regular rotation (e.g. the 3-field system) and the manuring of the land by folding stock on it. In the Mediterranean area, with little folding of stock on the cultivated lands and much growth of fruit trees, the tendency to cultivate 'between the trees' in alternate years made the elaborations of the 3-field communal system superfluous. Moreover, the very widespread notion that a fruit tree belongs to him who plants it has tended to turn men's thoughts in the direction of individual ownership in a region where strong communalism in cultivation was less called for.

But everywhere the rural household has tended to have duties and rights connected not only with the arable fields but also with woodlands, hill pastures, even distant ones, sometimes with shores rich in seaweeds useful for manuring, and so on. It is the fact of having these many-sided rights and duties that in a

sense marks out the peasant, he has specified rights to pasture flocks and herds, to fold stock on arable fields, to feed pigs in the woods, to cut wood for housebuilding or gather wood for firing and so on, often with quantities and seasons rigidly set out.

The tendency to hold on to improved land, the inadequacy of systems of cultivation adapted to the lazier or the slower witted members of the community, the introduction of root crops that broke into the old routine of folding the animals on the stubble of the arable fields, and many other considerations have eroded the old schemes of communal control and rights and duties. Sometimes landlordism in the sense of absolute property, sometimes individual or peasant ownership, sometimes the transformation of the peasant into a wage labourer have resulted. In any and every case the peasant tradition has been weakened by these changes; it was attached to communal schemes and the traditional non-negotiable character of the land.

Cultivation spread from the lands of the ancient rivers to the islands and shores of the *Ægean* before 3000 B.C., and found there considerable advantages that helped forward the evolution of settled life. Fishing along the coasts gave a useful source of food in a region in which the keeping of animals was naturally restricted, intercourse and exchange could grow out of the fishing. The widespread heaths gave honey, an energizing food that, moreover, allowed itself to be fermented. The olive with its fat valuable where animals were few, the fig with its rich sugar supply and the treasured vines when planted yielded fruit for many years, and among them a small plough would prepare the ground for cereal crops, but it must not go deep and interfere with tree roots. The food supply was a good one for those who lived on a defensible hill near the sea with fruit-groves and cereals round about. There were opportunities of living together in considerable numbers, and this was encouraged also by the sparsity of springs among limestone rocks. We thus have even agricultural folk living in many places in what are practically towns and, as many towns are by the sea, engaging in sea trade and adventure. The story in the Mediterranean gathers around the city, which was often quite small and peopled partly by cultivators. It is especially when we get to more continental

environments in North Italy or the Iberian peninsula that we get something more like a peasantry, and there it may have developed to a considerable extent through a dispersal into the countryside from the concentrated centres of early times, a dispersal promoted by growth of security and also by diversification and elaboration of cultivation leading to need for closer and more continuous attention. The scheme of the Roman villa is also to be borne in mind.

The small ploughs and the terracing in many Mediterranean areas made it likely that each man's holding could be separately managed, and the early growth of commerce encouraged ideas of property. It was found that, under the climatic conditions of many Mediterranean areas, a crop could be taken in many spots at most one year in two, especially as the fields were too dry and brown after harvest to permit beasts to feed long on the stubble, so there was little manuring by the dung of animals. In drier parts of Spain it might be only one year in three that a crop could be taken, but that is exceptional. We thus find a 2-field system with separate and individual ownership widespread and old established, and it is interesting to look for traces of this system, with modifications, in southern and western France and West Britain. Its spread along this zone is analogous with the spread of ideas, implements, great stone monuments and so on at the dawn of the age of metal as well as later. Wherever it occurs north-west of the mediterranean area it is accompanied by stock-raising which usually makes men live near their beasts, and so we find not large almost town-like groups of farmers but, in modern times, far more often, dispersed farms, dispersed at any rate since security of life has been increased. Naturally, we also find small groups at cross-roads and bridge heads, near churches and so on.

In the Mediterranean zone and its north-westward extension there is often another type of agricultural tradition, known by the name of transhumance. The dryness of many parts in summer limited the food for beasts unless they could be taken to higher lands that had more rain or dew, so migration of flocks and herds to and from the highlands is a widespread feature, and those herds have long included too many goats that have de-

stroyed woodland and reduced many a hillside to desert, with consequent streaming of the rain down the bare rocky slopes carrying rock debris and mud to block stream courses and making flooded areas become malarious marshes down below. This seasonal movement of flocks and herds is called transhumance. If they are very far from home, the men concerned live roughly on the highlands during the summer with the rudest equipment and without their women; they are difficult to control and quarrels between them and the cultivators have been legion. In many areas they have hindered development of civilization and of government, a factor of great importance especially in the drier parts of Spain where transhumance occurs on the large scale over long distances. In such areas the cultivators may often live grouped for protection under lords who control large stretches of territory and who, with the rise of courts at Naples, Madrid and elsewhere, came to spend much of their time away from their lands with a number of typically unfortunate consequences of absentee landlordism. On the other hand the leisurely life of the herdsman for a great part of the time has given him opportunities for music and song, and the return home after sojourn on the heights in summer has helped to develop festivals of reunion, not a little encouraged by the vine harvest and its supplies of new wine. We might look further into the matter and find interesting regional differences, but the above sketch gives at least some idea of the cultivators' life in Mediterranean lands with modifications in parts of Western Europe that owe the bases of their civilization to early Mediterranean influences.

The extension of the cultivators' life into Central Europe is a very different story. There hunting rather than fishing in boats was the supplement, and cultivation had to adapt itself to climates with severe winters and thunderstorm rain in summer, while the acclimatization of fruit-trees was a long process that is of relatively late date. In the Carpathians and the Alps there was transhumance,¹ but over wide areas cultivation was the main

¹ In the Alps the mountain pastures were often not so far from the village as to prevent the women, or some of them, from moving or at any rate from visiting frequently the men on the high pastures. Transhumance here, therefore, is a more civilized process than in some other regions. In

matter, and even in the neighbourhood of those mountains transhumant herdsmen and cultivators were mostly members of the same little local group. Advancing step by step into unknown difficulties of bush and forest the early cultivators seem to have formed small village groups, at first using land for a few years and then moving to another patch, much as some Africans in and near the warm wet forests of Africa do to-day. They grew poor cereals related to wheat (Einkorn) and, as the stone hoe was the main instrument at first, it is likely that, as in Africa, the women did most of the work of cultivation and that the population was very poorly organized. There were not sufficient incentives to the development of cities. Whereas cities in the *Ægean* date from almost 3000 B.C., there are parts of East Central Europe in which they do not date back even to A.D. 1000, and they are generally younger in East Central than in West Central Europe. We could trace, in outline, the metamorphosis of the early villagers with their hoe cultivation and probably shifting villages into a later village system with fixed villages in the Bronze Age and some trade but no real cities. We cannot say what was the system under which the land was used, but may surmise that, so long as the hoe or a quite small plough was used, there need not have been very much communal organization for agriculture. But the maintenance of fertility made organization necessary and we get systems leading on to the 3-field scheme in fertile areas and various devices in more barren situations, usually involving in-field and out-field, the in-field being some patch near home that was more fertile or could be better cared for. The 3-field scheme involved co-operation in ploughing and the feeding of the beasts on the stubble as a means of manuring the fields. All this is well known and the vicissitudes of the system need not be followed for our purpose. What is of most interest is that the nett result in our own day differs considerably in various parts of Western and Central Europe.

the Carpathians the distances are often great and the life on the very extensive upland pastures rough and the women often stay below, but in too troubled times these uplands have been a refuge for the Roumanian people and this helps to account for the survival of the Latin heritage in language.

In our Celtic fringe there survives a tradition of great and probably pre-Celtic antiquity with considerable emphasis on animals and many signs of former seasonal movement or transhumance. The land tenure looks back to what may be a Mediterranean tradition. The simplicity of stock-raising equipment has limited the development of the arts and crafts. Folk ritual may still, as in Brittany, cling around the prehistoric stone monuments, which may be more or less Christianized. In England the older systems have been overlaid by the 3-field scheme or some variant which, whatever its origins, spread a great deal during the post-Roman centuries of forest-clearing and therefore was either brought to England or multiplied here by the Anglo-Saxons. In our climate, or with our background, or as a result of both, the system worked poorly, and dearth was frequent in some parts in wet summers. Our market-towns grew, often from villages, and knit themselves with the peasant life, but even that did not suffice. Foreign trade and maritime adventure came after the voyages of discovery and led on to the development of industry accompanied by enclosure acts to secure more food from the soil, and so the old peasantry lost its permanent hold on the land and became a population of wage labourers or dependants on the Poor Law.

The common pastures, woodland and waste have been absorbed bit by bit by squatters or by adjacent owners, and the old rights of the peasantry have thus often vanished. There is no need to dilate upon the fact that the agriculturist now forms a very small fraction of our population.

In France climate has helped the peasant more; his grain harvest is more assured and the summer is warm enough to ripen fruits that grow only in very favoured parts of England. Northern France, with its Frankish tradition and its agglomerated villages with communal cultivation of land held in strips in the various fields of the village or manor, was one of the most typical areas of feudal society with its peasantry closely linked to the life of the local market-town. Here was an opportunity of social continuity whatever the political discontinuity at Paris might be. Consequently we find a peasantry proud of its soil, but political considerations in the eighteenth century destroyed feudalism

and many a peasant became a proprietor while others became labourers, who however were less mobile than their fellows in England; there was not here the same lure of the large scale industries, foreign commerce and emigration.

Though old communal schemes have largely passed away France still retains a good deal of exchange of goods and services and, in some parts, of local festivals. The peasant gives his time to the land without stint, a little money means a great deal to him; credit transactions, cheques and dealings of other kinds with banks are much less common than in England. Paris, on the one hand, drawn into international finance with immensely swollen figures and the thrifty peasantry on the other find it difficult to combine and the disjuncture is a serious feature in French national life. This, and other factors have led to decline of population in many parts of rural France in spite of a birth-rate that has been rather above the English one; under peasant conditions the infant death-rate is also high.

In Germany, east of the Rhine, market-towns and their exchanges are about as highly developed as in France, but they often have had a separate legal system in the past, and the contrast between burgher and peasant is usually stronger than in France especially as the greater cities had their patriciate, the *Geschlechter*, in the Middle Ages, and in some German-Swiss centres such as Basel this element has remained specially important. The importance of the Venice-Brenner-German axis of European mediæval trade, coupled with the lack of mediæval nationalistic development in Germany, gave the German cities a very special character (see BULLETIN, JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 20, No. 2, July, 1936, pp. 312 ff.) which helps to account for the depth of the distinction between burgher and peasant as compared with what one finds in France. In both France and Germany the peasant has become accustomed to buying and selling in the market, and in France the climate is such that farmwork goes on all through the year. Peasant arts in France are thus not much developed, but there is another reason for this. Peasant and bourgeois are very near to one another in character and interest in and around the market-towns, and these market-towns have kept up their small local manufactures which seem

to suit the French genius. So, on the one hand, the very large scale industry Britain knows so well is almost an exotic plant in France, and, on the other, real peasant industry is not much developed, though manufactures of wool and of silk may be carried on in quite small places, or, even, an entrepreneur may employ a number of cottagers working in their homes.

Germany's much severer winter, with snow for a long time, and also its abundance of soft-wood forests and its old tradition of metal work, associated with the many courts of petty princes and their armed men, have contributed to give the German peasantry more interest in handicraft work, partly as a winter occupation ; and both wood and metal are utilized.

Farther east in Central Europe the situation and character of the peasantry change. There are towns of German type and more or less German tradition often in a Slavonic countryside ; the disjuncture between the two has in the past been marked, though it is less nowadays as the cities have often become Slavonized. There was not seldom a similar disjuncture in rural life with German or Germanized lords over, perhaps, Polish peasants, or Magyar lords over Roumanian peasants or, further east, Polish or Polonized lords over Ukrainian (Ruthenian) peasants. These disjunctures and many features accompanying them have held back the development of economic and political organization. Moreover, as was mentioned earlier, the city was developed in East Central Europe only after A.D. 1000, and then as an importation from abroad with laws and customs distinct from those of the countryside. We therefore have the persistence here of an earlier, less developed, phase of peasant life with the villages almost self-contained. They contain specialized craft workers but here there are also many purely domestic activities making what the home needs. Wool is spun and sometimes still dyed with garden-products at home and is woven in a loom shed typically at the side of the cottage. The woman with her distaff is a village feature and a lad in many parts still makes a distaff that is elaborately carved to give as a betrothal present to the girl of his choice. She for her part has already woven skirts and rugs and quilts and much besides for their future home, having started the accumulation when she was six or seven. The house

built of wood from the commune's forest, if there is one near-by, will be built with neighbourly help and the furniture is home-made too. Shoemaking and other work in skins may be done at home or by a villager, who, though always masculine, will do the famous embroidering of leather jackets. Pottery is likely to be the work of a specialized craftsman in the village or town. Sawing of wood and milling are two larger enterprises not seldom, in the domain of the Uniate or Orthodox churches, carried on by the parish priest who, being necessarily a married man by the regulation of the church, needs more support for his family than the small church revenues provide.

In the villages of East Central Europe money-economy may hardly have penetrated as yet. It is subsistence farming that counts and the standard of spending is very low, though this does not necessarily mean widespread misery. There is misery in some areas, there is almost everywhere a grievous lack of money which bars peasants from many developments of modern life but, on the other hand, there is much untrained art and love of beauty shown in clothing, including silk in more prosperous areas, as well as in wood-carving. The fair plays a very important part here and many a peasant will come to the fair with a dozen wooden spoons he has carved, or some other small item on which he may raise the equivalent of a very few shillings.

It is not possible to speak of modern Russia in this connection beyond saying that a great assault has been made upon the whole peasant tradition, which, in that country, was until recently impoverished by serfdom. Against that one must, however, set the fact that the Russian peasantry were in a sense colonizers, not averse from moving on again and again.

The general increase of the definiteness of peasant tradition as one goes from west to east in mid-Europe has been a marked feature of the life of the Continent. Village crafts, home industries, traditionalist art, folk ceremonial, exchanges of goods and services instead of money, high birth- and death-rates and many other features stand out, more and more so as one goes east.

In the north-west, as one approaches the climatic limits of wheat cultivation, dependence on animals, and sometimes on fodder crops, increases while near the sea the men may escape

out into the wider world of adventure. Where winter wheat becomes less important the régime of the crop-rotation system is made easier. There is no longer the need to set aside a proportion of the land for a whole long period, October to July or August. Instead of this, spring-sown cereals are the main feature and so the régime has tended to be a simple annual one of crops April to August, and stubble pasture and so on to follow. This has naturally encouraged the folding of stock, for a large part, near the homestead; and one correspondingly gets a scheme with an in-field, dunged and cultivated year by year, and out-fields sown now and then. This scheme emphasized the homestead rather than exclusively the community, and, combined with opportunities of fishing and escape, made the feudal régime less easy to work here. Moreover, in fishing communities, it made great demands upon the women called on to take responsibility while their husbands were at sea, and the girls were and are often concerned with taking cattle to the mountain pastures, for example in Norway. Transhumance is therefore something very different from what was described under that name in discussing Spain and the Carpathians.

The peasantry in Denmark and Sweden has been as it were caught before it declined too far under modern conditions, and has been transformed by an education for rural life in folk high schools and the planting of the seeds of co-operation and of confidence in expert advice. But the change is so many-sided that it is almost a new type that has been and is being created, and it hardly comes any longer within the scope of a study of a peasantry as defined in this article. It exemplifies the change from reliance on one's own production to provide directly for one's needs within the limits of a village or small district. The new scheme is to produce for sale, it may be in a distant market, and to buy various necessities in return. The old self-help gives way to complex exchanges and dependence of the rural folk on markets and factory products, a social revolution that is rapidly completing itself.

CUSANUS THE THEOLOGIAN.¹

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I.

WE are sometimes told that the fifteenth century saw the decline of scholasticism. Like all such generalizations, the statement contains a modicum of truth. It would certainly be more applicable to this century, where Wyclif had challenged the orthodox faith and had to be answered in terms which every one could understand—Netter's *Doctrinale* points the way to simpler (though not less prolix) methods of exposition—than on the Continent, where, both at Paris and in the German universities, the philosophy of Occam was strongly entrenched. But alike in England and abroad, there is undoubtedly a contraction of the field of influence once belonging to the scholastic method and the theologians trained along those lines.

That contraction came in numerous ways. In the Netherlands and in many districts of Northern Germany the teaching of religion on a simple and popular basis in the Schools of the Brethren of the Common Life seemed a better preparation for the practical life of a parish clergyman than a discipline founded on the sentences and ending, perhaps, with a degree that got one nowhere. In this country the university-trained clerk was finding it very difficult to get a benefice in comparison with the less lettered protégé of the secular patron or the civil servant, and the general complaint was that the universities would soon be empty. To speak more generally, as the century advanced, the growth of education and the increasingly vocational tendency of studies like law and medicine threatened to pass the professional

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th February, 1937.

philosophers and theologians by. And there was competition from another quarter. In Scandinavia, in England (especially East Anglia) and in parts of Germany, an emotional mysticism was claiming the attention of many who at an earlier date might have become orthodox academics or remained among the silent mortified devout. The solitary, living by rule, was coming into his or her own as the recipient of treatises or legacies;¹ and the people were beginning to listen to other religious personalities who were by no means anchorites or recluses, as the career of Margery Kempe has made plain. Archbishop Arundel does not seem to have been angry with her, when she rebuked him for the laxity and extravagance of his household. Bishop Philip Repingdon treated her with honour. She may have been a nuisance during divine service, and people grumbled; but she was accepted, even if unwillingly, by her age. Art gives similar witness. The rich iconography of East Anglia in the fifteenth century points to something more than the stock work of a few firms of masons. There is a fine tangle of legend and fancy linked with the names of those popular saints of local devotion: St. Barbara, St. Dorothy, St. Edmund the king and martyr, St. Katherine, St. Margaret. It is the age of the women saints, when the Revelations of St. Bridget was almost the standard text-book of devotion.

Religious thought, therefore, was no longer content to dwell within the syllogism. In his earlier days, Nicholas of Cues had attributed an example of this method of proof to the working of the Holy Spirit.² In his later years he would scarcely have suggested this. More than in the fourteenth century, dialogue was becoming a literary characteristic of the age; and humanism, with its emphasis on formal beauty, on the perfection of a period and the cadence of words was, as we all know, more than a little impatient with the *odiosa cantio* of the old disputations. On a different plane, popular devotion can be seen breaking out on all sides: in verse, in imagery (one recalls Descents from the

¹ Cf. *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ii. 95, 380, 600, for testamentary bequests to Juliana Lampett of Norwich.

² *De Concordantia Catholica*, II, xx.; in *D. Nicolai de Cusa . . . Opera* (Petri, Basel 1555), p. 748.

Cross or the Man of Sorrows), in practical works of mercy and piety like the endowment of hospitals, or in campaigns against unorthodoxy that might lead equally to a crusade or the foundation of a college. It was the century of legacy and insurance for the soul ; and these religious currents, this world of exciting sensibility, must have alarmed quieter conservative spirits. The danger that the tides of sentiment might run uncontrolled should have been clear to any thoughtful observer about the time of the Council of Basel (1431). They had already shown what they could do in the Bohemian revolt. The problem was how to set the intellect free to serve the cause of religion without the academic contortions that served to alienate rather than attract. At the same time, as Gascoigne realized when he urged the need of preaching, religion, if it is to be vital, must be a force leading to action, to practical goodness before any intellectual enjoyment. It must move people to be better and more steadfast. This was the more necessary amid the bourgeois civilization of the fifteenth century. The opulent and comfortable life of the upper citizens needed some antidote to the pageants of its worship as well as of its secular ceremonies.

It can be seen, then, that the Church of the fifteenth century had to provide, apart from the elegant and fastidious prosodists, for two unlikely opposites, the visionary and the city magnate. The problem was not really new ; but now the necessity was upon her at a time when she herself stood deeply in need of internal strictness and missionary ardour, and was in danger of losing her power of instructing and illuminating her children. Her weapon in this educational task had been the very discipline that had lost its freshness and compelling power. This is not the time or place to venture any observations on the contribution made by the scholastic method to the cause of accurate thinking and the precise use of terms. Every trained intellect of whatever rank in learned or administrative Christendom had been brought up in it, or had some contact with it, and its influence was everywhere. Confronted with the new emotionalism, what was it to do ? To those consciously or unconsciously in search of self-expression or seeking literary perfection, the laborious and often unremunerative toil of the schoolmen held out little attraction.

It was simpler to write homilies or pious meditations than a *quodlibet*, even if the scholastic terminology came almost as second nature. By this one need not be suspected of any allusion to the work of pure and gracious minds like the author of the *Imitatio*, a classic in any age or generation : but to those writers, often in the vernacular, whose work is more enlightening to the philologist or to the student of behaviour than to critics who inquire whither they are leading or what serious contribution they are making towards the philosophy of religion.

It fell to Nicholas of Cues to restore—or attempt to restore,—the balance of reason and emotion by weighting once more the scale of reason, while at the same time demonstrating the limitations of the rational method. To do this, he went back to Neo-Platonic sources ; but he is also a son of Master Eckhart, subtlest of German mystics, from whom he derived some of his terminology and a great part of his attitude towards ultimate reality. So much has been written round his career that I need not attempt any biographical sketch.¹ It is rather the sequence of his works and the environment in which he wrote them that should claim our attention here. Nicholas is an instance of a man whose most important work was his first serious essay in metaphysic. All the rest—and there is much of it—is a development of the ideas expressed in that treatise, until he had created his own system—the Cusan dialectic, we might call it—by building round its central conception, the notion of the one, changeless and transcendent deity, the structure of a finite universe

¹ An admirable brief account is that of Dr. R. Klibansky, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.v. Among recent works, Peter Mennicken, *Nikolaus von Kues* (Leipzig, 1932) is stimulating ; and a very balanced and lucid book is that of Dr. Henry Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa* (London, 1932). The most notable recent works bearing upon his philosophy, of which Dr. Uebinger wrote, in 1888, the important book *Die Gotteslehre des Nicolaus Cusanus*, are Jos. Ranft's in *Schöpfer und Geschöpf nach Nikolaus von Cusa* (Würzburg, 1924) ; E. Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1927), which contains as an appendix the *Liber de Mente*, edited by Joachim Ritter ; and Joachim Ritter, *Docta Ignorantia, Die Theorie des Nichtwissens bei Nic. Cusanus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927). Very useful also is Ernst Hoffman, *Das Universum des Nik. von Cues* (Heidelberger Abhandl., phil.-hist. Kl., 1929-30). For the Christology of Nicholas, the sermon "Dies Sanctificatus" (ed. Hoffmann and Klibansky, Heidelberg, 1929), is of considerable interest.

subject to variation and mutability. In his early university years at Heidelberg he was in the town of the Occamist Marsilius of Inghen, the home of scholasticism ; but at Padua when he took his degree in Canon law, the young lawyer was brought face to face with men and influences that left a permanent mark upon him. The mathematicians and the doctors, the latter Averroists, gathered there formed a brilliant and powerful teaching staff. Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi and Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli must have introduced him to the Pythagorean doctrines so plainly reflected in his works. From them and from the Arabian traditions preserved by the medicals he may have learned the meaning of causation, and have become acquainted with the notion of law in nature, which, however paradoxical it may sound, underlay the astrology for which Northern Italy was famous. His great interest in Islam that comes out in the *De pace fidei* and the *Cribrationis Alchoran*, and in his respect for Avicenna,¹ may well have been derived from his Paduan masters, not least perhaps from Ugo Benzi of Siena. "Ses vrais maîtres en philosophie, ce n'est pas à Padoue qu'il les faut chercher," M. Vansteenberghe has remarked.² This is perhaps a little hard on the Italian mathematicians, who worked deeply upon Nicholas's subtle and active intellect.

The pamphlet (1436) on the Reform of the Calendar may seem the only example of Nicholas's work that appears at all isolated from the rest. This impression will quickly disappear when the astronomical calculations are arrived at.³ Though the first of his mathematical works was not issued till 1450, it is clear, even in the *Concordantia Catholica* (1433, the first major treatise, but none the less, an *œuvre de circonstance*) that the Paduan leaven was early at work.⁴ In the *De docta ignorantia* the mathematical influence is absolutely clear ;⁵ indeed, the

¹ Cf. *Apologia doctae ignorantiae*, in *Opera*, p. 67. This is not to imply that he agreed in any way with Mohammedan theology.

² *Le Cardinal Nicolas de Cues*, p. 13.

³ *Opera*, p. 1157 f. The treatise contains a striking little historical survey of early chronological systems.

⁴ Cf. especially the terms which he uses to describe the supreme agreement in God ; *Opera*, p. 693.

⁵ E.g. I. ii, x, xiii-xv, xxi, xxiii ; II. i, v ; *Opera*, pp. 3-7, 9-11, 16-17, 18, 22-24, 29-30.

notion of mathematical truth lies at the heart of the argument. Let us state his position in the words of the theological appendix to his *De Mathematicis Complementis*, which he dedicated to Nicholas V. The Pope, while pleased with the learned mathematical treatise, had expressed a little astonishment at the pre-occupation of so leading an ecclesiastic with geometry and numbers, and Nicholas wrote to show him the logical implication of it all. True, the passage to be quoted was written thirty years after Nicholas's student days at Padua, but it reveals, as clearly as any other like quotation from his works, whither those early studies had led him :—

Every one knows that in mathematics truth can be more surely reached than in the other liberal arts ; and therefore we see those who taste the discipline of geometry remaining faithful to it in a remarkable love, as if a kind of food for the intellectual life is contained there more purely and simply [than elsewhere] ; for the Geometrician does not care for lines or figures of bronze or gold or wood ; he cares for the lines and figures as they are in themselves, although they are not found outside the substances. He beholds, therefore, with the eye of sense figures of the sensible world, in order that with the eye of the mind he may be able to behold the figures of the mind. Nor does the mind see the mental figures any the less truly than does the eye the sensible figures ; but rather all the more truly, inasmuch as the mind beholds the figures in themselves, freed from material otherness (*alteritate*). But ordinary physical perception (*sensus exterior*) cannot teach them without that otherness ; for the figure acquires otherness from its union with the material substance, which varies and varies : an account of which there is one triangle on this pavement and another on the wall, and the figure is truer on the one than on the other ; and so under such conditions it always falls short of a higher degree of truth and precision. But mental perception in the abstract will see the figures free from all variable otherness ; since the mind discovers itself when the otherness of the senses is not there to impede it.¹

A Cartesian beginning, if we may take the first sentence to represent Nicholas's own experience. He remained faithful, indeed, to his geometry. Throughout his works there are passages contrasting the truth of mental perception with the conjectural "otherness" of sense-data. From a comparatively early period Nicholas must have been filled with the desire to pass beyond conjecture to the perception of eternal reality.

¹ *Opera*, p. 1107.

Sensible things, he would argue, can never be precisely equal : there can only be approximate likeness. But the ideal quantities of the mathematician can be exactly alike, precisely because they are abstractions. In mathematical symbols precise and final truth can be attained. To put it in another way : truth, he observes in one passage,¹ is *adaequatio rei et intellectus*. The problem of knowledge is how to bring about the assimilation. " Knowledge comes through likeness " ; but in the finite world of sense-perceptions, real likeness is impossible. And how is the desired abstraction, reality, to be arrived at, when we are, so to speak, the prisoners of our own senses, the victims of *alteritas* ? By what mental effort can mathematical certainty be brought into the service of philosophy ? That is the question in its modern form.

There may be something fanciful in attributing so large a problem to the mind of Nicholas in the early days, when he was in Cardinal Orsini's household, hunting for classical manuscripts in Germany, or, later, winning his spurs over the Bohemians at the Council of Basel. The evidence for his mental growth before 1440 is slender ; but the notions of equality and difference, of mutability and changelessness, and above all the concept of unity, to which he was always returning, did not come from the authors whom he cites in the mature treatises alone. Yet it was undoubtedly John the Scot that enabled Nicholas to ponder more deeply the philosophical implication of mathematical truth, and gave him the notion of the timeless, transcendent being, combining possibility and actuality, the being opposed to all alterity, eternally the same ; and how deeply Nicholas had studied him both his early and his later commentators, especially Dr. Klibansky, have made plain. But Nicholas the theologian, as he stands to later ages, is compounded of something more besides. There is personal devotion, of the deepest and humblest kind, to the object of contemplation ; and there is the mystic's language describing his approach to that ultimate reality, the use of analogy and symbol in which Eckhart was the instructor. If we are merely to attribute to Nicholas the negative theology of

¹ In the *Compendium*, *Opera*, p. 247.

the Scot, we should miss an important positive element in his Christology: the doctrine of the Word as the mediator between the Creator and the human objects of his creation. One element of greatness in the Cusan is that he is able to bring together a being which he describes as absolutely greatest, and the concrete individual, without that individual losing his identity. He had to face the insistent problem of personality that besets the theologian of idealist leanings.¹ What does the Absolute care for the individuals whom it comprises? Does not the tremendous singleness of God obliterate, in its unity, all those differences which to our finite minds are so precious? To the solution of these questions Nicholas brought a warmth of feeling that we are not always prone to expect in a writer who covers his pages with geometrical figures and diagrams.

But we are anticipating: for we left Nicholas at the critical point of transmuting mathematics into philosophy. This was the task of the busiest period of his life, from 1437 or thereabouts (the time when he left the Conciliar party for the Papal side, along with Cesarini), to 1453. Its landmarks are his leading work, the *De docta ignorantia*, and the *De conjecturis*, both of 1440; his vigorous support, in sermons and addresses, of the Papal interest and his propaganda against German neutrality in the Council; and his return, after that neutrality had been conquered by Aeneas Sylvius and Eugenius IV, to Italy, a Cardinal for his pains: to Italy and—be it noted—to mathematics. To 1450 belong the *De transmutationibus geometricis*; the *De arithmetice complementis*; and (his favourite theme), *De quadratura circuli*. The more mystical *De quaerendo Deum* was written while he was conducting the campaign against German neutrality (1445). 1451 and part of 1452 were occupied with his famous tour of his native land as Papal legate. To 1452 belongs the *Conjectura de ultimis diebus*. It was 1453 that saw Cusanus, now bishop of Brixen, enter upon a quarrel with Duke

¹ Nicholas looked at this problem more in the light of the ascent of man towards God. How can the finite man establish any contact with the divine Essence? It is the human being who has to approach the God who beholds him, and by intuition (which he describes in the *De visione Dei*) to arrive, through the darkness, at his essence.

Sigismund of the Tyrol over the reform which he was attempting to impose upon the aristocratic nunnery of the Sonnenburg: a conflict which was to divide the local nobility, and ultimately to involve forces outside the immediate sphere of the disputants. Yet it was to 1453 that three works of serene imaginative power belong. The *De Visione Dei*, *De mathematicis complementis* and the *De pace fidei*. In the former he produced a work of devotion as well as of philosophical importance, wherein the novelty and paradox of the standpoint alone prevents it from ranking with the work of Thomas of Kempen. The astonishing fact about this period of legatine and diocesan work and activity in the life of Nicholas is the output of pure speculation amid all the disturbance that was going on about him.

After 1453 there is a gap. The conflict with Sigismund increased, and reached its climax in 1456-1457. None the less, in 1458 and 1460 came three works, *De Beryllo*, *De mathematica perfectione*, and, most characteristic of all, *De possest*. The latter and the *De non aliud* of 1462 are concerned most of all with the doctrine of God and his relation with the universe. They are his maturest theological works. I would quote here Dr. Bett's summary of his position:—

He began with a conception of God as the super-essential unity, which is opposed to no otherness, and in which all contraries coincide. He never really departed from that position. But he came more and more in later life to use phrases which stress the self-identity of the Godhead. God is *idem*, for unity, infinity, actuality, possibility, existence, nothingness, all that can be thought, all that surpasses thought, is the same in Him. He is *Non aliud*, for there is nothing to which He is other, since He is unrelated and unconditioned and absolute. He is the *Possest*, because in Him possibility (*posse*) and actuality (*est*) are one. It can hardly be said that there is any real advance in thought here; the notion of the changeless identity of the Deity is really involved in the conception, found in Nicholas's earliest books of God as immutable Unity. But Nicholas came, in later life, to use new terms which stress the internal identity, so to speak, rather than the universal inclusiveness of the Absolute, and at the same time he came to emphasise the dynamic rather than the static aspect of the conception.¹

In 1461, bitterly attacked by Gregory of Heimburg, with the Tyrolese dispute now assuming almost European proportions,

¹ *Nicholas of Cusa*, pp. 109-110.

Cusanus went to Rome. In the last two years of his life, no less than four treatises came from his pen. In the final one, the *De apice theoriae*, he has given a little picture of himself which we may place alongside of the kneeling figure on Andrea Bregno's tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli. The *De apice theoriae* is the report of a little conversation of the Cardinal with Peter of Erkelenz, his secretary.¹ Peter observes that he has often seen his master so deeply sunk in meditation that he has not dared to disturb him. But now, finding him a little more relaxed and in less spiritual tension, he feels that he can make the venture, and ask the Cardinal what he has been contemplating. The Cardinal expresses satisfaction : he has often been surprised that Peter has never asked him what he was thinking about ; but now that his secretary has been ordained priest, it is right that he should ask to know. Peter replies that he has scrupled to ask because of his inexperience ; but, he adds ingenuously, " I thought that you had reached the end of speculation in your many various books." Cusanus replies that if the apostle Paul, wrapt up into the third heaven, did not comprehend the incomprehensible,² no one would ever be satiated by what surpasses all comprehension, but would ever try to comprehend the better. Then this exchange :—

Peter. What are you seeking ?

Cardinal. You say rightly.

Peter. I ask you and you make fun of me. I ask you to say what you are seeking, and you answer " You say rightly." I was making no statement, only asking.

Cardinal. If you say " what are you seeking ? " you have spoken rightly : since I *am* seeking something. Who ever seeks, seeks somewhat. If he was not in search of anything, he certainly would not be seeking at all. Like all men given up to study, I am seeking something ; for I earnestly long to know what is the nature and essence of the thing so eagerly sought.

Peter. Do you think that it can be found ?

Cardinal. Certainly it can ; for the impulse (*motus*) which all scholars have is not in vain.

Peter. If so far no one has found it, why beyond all others do *you* try ?

¹ *Opera*, pp. 332-337.

² II. Cor. xii. 2. St. Paul only says that he heard words which he may not repeat.

Cardinal. I think that many people have seen it and have written about their vision. For the essence of it, which has always been sought, is being sought for now and will ever be ; if it was utterly unknown, how should it be sought ? When found, how should it remain unknown ? Therefore a philosopher said that it is seen by all, though from afar.

It recalls *La Saisiaz*, if only for the contrast in outlook :—

I have questioned and am answered. Question, answer
presuppose
Two points, that the thing itself which questions
answers, is, it knows ;
As it also knows the thing perceived outside itself,—a
force
Actual ere its own beginning, operative through its
course,
Unaffected by its end,—that this thing likewise needs
must be :
Call this—God, then, call that—Soul, and both—the
only facts for me.

Browning's emphasis lay on the reality of the soul, the creature. Nicholas's on the reality of the object sought, the being " beyond all cognitive power and anterior to all variety and opposition " ; which was not " now one, now another, but the *hypostasis* [the underlying nature] of all." His works are one long act of contemplating this being as it manifested itself in possibility and actuality, *posse* and *esse*, at one and the same time.

II.

First, the attitude of the seeker towards the object sought. Nicholas speaks of truth or reality as *inattigibilis*, not to be attained. Is our reason capable of attaining it ?

The answer that Nicholas would give is that we must realize our own limitations. All research proceeds by comparison. The infinite, because by definition it cannot be measured by anything, remains necessarily unknown. Knowledge or understanding of our native incapacity compared with the knowledge that is God's he terms " learned ignorance," sometimes " holy ignorance." This *ignorantia* has certain consequences : the man who has it will attach very little importance to the affirmations which we commonly make about God ; for all the names

that we attribute to him, all that we affirm of him, are only "in respect of his creatures": they attach to him some quality which his creatures possess. Nicholas's first philosophical treatise, *De docta ignorantia*, lays down, in the first book (ch. xxvi.) the principles of the "negative theology" which he derived from the Pseudo-Dionysius and from Scotus Erigena. God, being absolutely greatest, is absolutely one. There is no opposite to Him: His unity is not the unity which we commonly oppose to plurality. In His oneness, which includes all things, there is no distinction; and so, strictly speaking, we cannot give Him any name or names. We can only say that He is not this, that, or the other. The theology of affirmation, Nicholas says, worships God by faith, attributing to him names or values that we believe Him to possess; but they are the names and values of our own making; but the theology of negation is equally necessary with that of affirmation, since without it God would not be worshipped as infinite, but rather as the creature, and such worship savours of idolatry. "Holy ignorance teaches us that God is ineffable, and this because He is infinitely greater than all that can be named; and because this is verily so, we speak more truly of Him by removal and negation, as great Dionysius did, who would not have Him as truth, nor as understanding, nor as light, nor as any of the terms usually ascribed; whom Rabbi Solomon and all wise men follow. Whence He is neither Father, nor Son nor Holy Spirit, according to this negative theology, according to which He is infinite only."¹

Now what is sometimes described as Nicholas's scepticism of the intellect is rooted in this idea of the absolute unity and infinity of God. *Docta ignorantia* is far removed from any despair or belittling of the human intelligence. No man with such respect for mathematical truth should be so accused. It implies a doctrine of the relation of the finite to the infinite which makes a severe demand upon the intellect, asking for an effort of abnegation, in order that through this act the creature seeking may come within the *visio* or glance of God, and through

¹ *Opera*, p. 21.

intuition perceive what the discursive reason cannot tell him. Let us explain this process still further.¹

Finite and infinite, in the thought of Nicholas, do not stand in proportional relationship. In the universe, as we know it, things exist in grades of likeness, in relationships of space and time, and so forth. Our habit is to compare and relate one with another, and to try to comprehend their nature by means of likeness (*per similitudinem*). But, Nicholas maintains, no two things are so alike that they cannot be more alike *aeternaliter*. The finite understanding can never reach the essence of things (*quidditas rerum*) by means of the category of likeness; for truth is an indivisible entity that can only be measured by itself. We can never, by our finite understanding, reach truth except in such a way that a more precise attainment is always possible. A mathematical analogy may help. If you multiply the sides of a polygon, you endlessly approach a circle; but you never finally reach it. All that we know of the truth is that in its final, absolute form, it is unattainable to our reason. Our human knowledge is *conjectura*. To be really wise is to understand this, and to realize that we must struggle ceaselessly towards a more perfect knowledge of the truth. Nothing could be more apposite than the passage from Pascal which Dr. Bett has adduced to summarize *docta ignorantia* :—

Les sciences ont deux extrémités qui se touchent. La première est la pure ignorance naturelle où se trouvent tous les hommes en naissant. L'autre extrémité est celle où arrivent les grandes âmes, qui, ayant parcouru tout ce que les hommes peuvent savoir, trouvent qu'ils ne savent rien et se rencontrent en cette même ignorance d'où ils étaient partis; mais c'est une ignorance savante qui se connaît.²

How, then, can the eternal, undifferentiated Being have any contact with the world and its individuals? How is the transition to be made from that unity to the changeable world of sense perceptions? Nicholas does not adopt the neo-Platonist plan of emanations or intermediate existences between God and the world. Just in the same way as he makes that absolute maximum

¹ In the analysis that follows I owe much to Dr. Bett's treatment of Nicholas's epistemology; *op. cit.*, pp. 176-180.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

and absolute minimum coincide in God—the foundation of his doctrine of the coincidence of opposites—so now he brings together under the single concept of reality God and the visible world, and speaks of reality as if it had two sides or aspects, one being God, the invisible and ultimate reality, the other the world, the visible and derived reality. *Quid est mundus nisi invisibilis Dei apparitio? Quid Deus, nisi visibilium invisibilitas?* The two are separate; yet they are correlated. Using other terms, we might say that reality is both subject and object. As subject, it is God, originating, communicating; as object, originated and communicated, it is the world.

If anything, it is the active and communicating aspect of reality which Nicholas emphasises, and this receives illustration in his doctrine of the Trinity, perhaps the most difficult part of his work, but one of great importance, since, just as to Scotus Erigena, the Trinity was the plan of the universe. Readers of the *De concordantia catholica* will recollect the significance which he attaches to the three-fold structure of the Church and the elaborate symmetry with which he works out the triad in her every past and activity.¹ The Scot and Eckhart had identified Father, Son and Holy Spirit with *essentia*, *virtus*, *operatio*: Nicholas adopts these terms on occasion, but his more general practice is to identify them with unity, equality and connexion “Things in the world are many, but they are ever seeking unity; they are different, but they are ever seeking equality; they are divided, but they are ever seeking connexion.”² True to his practice, Nicholas provides an *aenigma* or illustration of this, in his *Cribrationis Alchoran*. He depicts himself as beholding a circular piece of water surrounded by meadows and vegetation, and noting that though there was no apparent intake or outlet, the water was quite fresh and greatly appreciated by the natives of the country. This caused him surprise, till he saw that there was a spring in the middle that fed a stream proceeding from it. The water, therefore, was both spring, river and lake; “and this equally, since it was not more spring than river and lake; and in the lake was river and spring, nor was the spring river or

¹ I. iv, v; *Opera*, pp. 695-704.

² Bett, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

lake, nor was the river spring or lake ; nor was the lake spring or river. And I did not see this, except when I considered with my intellect that the spring of itself generated the river ; and therefore spring and river are different, as generating and generated, like the Father and the Son. Nor can the lake be river or spring, from which two it proceeds. And I said : the spring is unity, the river equality and the lake is connexion (*nexus utriusque*)."¹

Dr. Bett has pointed out that these three attributes involve, in the finite world, the existence of opposites—multiplicity, inequality and separation—and that such a declension is only inconsistent with Nicholas's view, expressed elsewhere, that the world is the most perfect reflection possible of the perfect nature of God. This is, I think, a just criticism of a serious inconsistency. Yet there is in Nicholas's idea of the Trinity a principle of some importance : it is the activity *within* the god-head itself that distinguishes the deity of Cusanus from the abstract principle of pure being conceived by the philosophers. In the God that he has represented to us there is somehow or other expressed the vital pulse and motion of existing nature. This is perhaps the significance of the difficult chapter x of the third book of the *De docta ignorantia*, where Nicholas discusses this *motus* or universal impulse in nature towards unity. To him the Trinity is "the Trinity of the Universe." In God, the absolute, is found the possibility that is limited in this world (he calls this world the "contraction" of possibility and actuality) ; "in absolute form, which is the Word of the Father, the Son of Holy Writ, are all form and actuality ; in the absolute connexion of the divine spirit all impulse to connexion and the proportion and harmony that come therefrom".² The Trinity is thus the indication of the perfect union of possibility and actuality ; realizing what the material world is trying to realize, but cannot, because its possibility and actuality are both limited.

Contemporaries must have found Nicholas's conception of God very difficult. How was He to be made to enter the devotional life of the ordinary believer ? At the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee the prior, Bernard of Waging, was one

¹ II, viii-ix ; *Opera*, p. 902.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

of Nicholas's most fervent admirers,¹ and had introduced his doctrines to the convent. In 1453 Nicholas sent Bernard the treatise *De Visione Dei*, which was to explain to the brethren in simple language the meaning of learned ignorance and the notion of God which that involved. They had evidently asked to be initiated into the "mystical theology"—their phrase is interesting²—which he had made his own. The ascent or approach of the seeking believer is what they must have had in mind. But the *visio Dei* which Nicholas revealed to them is not what we mean when we speak of the "Vision of God." To Nicholas the vision is not man's view of God, but God's glance embracing man. Within that glance, "unlimited sight," as he calls it, man's small life is lived. "Thy look is my being. I am because Thou dost look at me. If Thou didst turn Thy face away, I should cease to be."

Nicholas proposed "by the simplest and most commonplace method to lead you by experience into that most sacred darkness."³ The method is the metaphor of an *icon* or picture of a face with eyes that follow its beholders about wherever he stands or goes—"as though looking on all round it." He quotes a number of examples, particularly one "by the eminent painter, Roger [van der Weyden] in his priceless picture in the governor's house in Brussels." Put up the picture of God, says Nicholas, and stand a little way off: "and each of you shall find that, from whatever quarter he regardeth it, it looketh upon him as if it looked on none other." The astonishing thing is "the motion of its unmoveable gaze." The picture "keepeth in sight all as they go on their way, though it be in contrary directions; and thus he [the beholder addressed] will prove that that countenance, though motionless, is turned to east in the same way that it is simultaneously turned to west, and in the same way to north and to south." God is called *theos* because he beholds all. It is not of the essence of sight to behold one

¹ See the account of him, in E. Vansteenbergh, *Autour de la docte ignorance*, pp. 1-2, and his *opuscula* printed on pp. 163-188.

² How far had Cusanus intended his *De docta ignorantia* as a work of "mystical theology" for contemplatives? It is very difficult to say. Even those brought up upon Eckhart would have found it extremely hard.

³ I quote from the translation by Miss E. Gurney Salter.

object more than another, " though it is inherent in sight, in its limited state [*contractus*, as above] to be unable to look on more than one thing at a time or upon all things absolutely. But God is true unlimited sight, and he is not inferior to sight in the abstract, as it can be conceived by the intellect, but is beyond all comparison more perfect. Wherefore the apparent vision of the icon cannot so closely approach the supreme excellent of Absolute Sight as our abstract conception."

And here is his view of the attributes assigned to God, the affirmations which we found the " negative theology " rejecting :

The attributes assigned to God cannot differ in reality, by reason of the perfect simplicity of God. God, being the Absolute Ground of all formal natures embraceth in Himself all natures. Whence, although we attribute to God sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, sense, reason and intellect, and so forth, according to the divers significations of each word, yet in Him sight is not other than hearing or tasting or smelling or touching or feeling or understanding. And so all theology is said to be stablished in a circle, because any one of His attributes is affirmed of another, and to have with God is to be, and to move is to stand, and to run is to rest ; and so with the other attributes. Thus, although in one sense we attribute to him movement and in another rest, yet because He is Himself the Absolute Ground in which all otherness (*alteritas*) is unity, and all diversity is identity, that diversity which is not, identity proper, to wit diversity as we understand it, cannot exist in God.¹

God's face is the archetypal face or, as we might put it, " face " ; and Nicholas's reflection upon its power leads him to a passage which explains the " sacred darkness " of the ignorance that he is expounding. The passage, which must be quoted in its entirety, here seems one of the most important for a full understanding of the Cusan dialectic (as I ventured to call it above). He imagines himself looking at a nut-tree, first with the visual eye, then with the mental, and lastly with the eye of holy ignorance :—

Thy face is that power and principle from which all faces are what they are ; and, this being so, I turn me to this nut-tree, a big tall tree—and seek to perceive its principle. I see it with the eye of sense to be big and spreading, coloured, laden with branches, leaves and nuts. Then I perceive with the eye of the mind that that tree existed in its seed, not as I now behold it, but potentially. I consider with care the marvellous might of that seed, wherein

¹ *The Vision of God*, p. 12.

the entire tree, and all its nuts, and all the generative power of the nuts, and all trees, existed in the generative power of the nuts. And I perceive how that power can never be fully explicated in any time measured by the motion of the heavens; yet how that same power, though beyond explication, is still limited, because it availeth only in this particular species of nuts. Wherefore, albeit in the seed I perceive only the tree, it is yet in a limited power only. Then, Lord, I consider how the generative power of all the divers species of trees is limited each to its own species, and in those same seeds I perceive the virtual trees.

If, therefore, I am fain to behold the Absolute power of all such generative powers—which is the power, and likewise the principle, giving power to all seeds—I must needs pass beyond all generative power which can be known or imagined, and enter into that ignorance wherein no vestige remaineth of generative power or energy. Then in the darkness I find a Power (*virtutem*) most stupendous, not to be approached by any power imaginable, and this is the principle which giveth being to all generative and other power. This Power being absolute and exalted above all, giveth to every generative power that power wherein it enfoldeth the virtual tree, together with all things necessary to an actual tree and that inhere in the being of a tree; wherefore this principle and cause containeth in itself, as cause, alike enfolded and absolutely, whatsoever it giveth to its effect.

Like the Confessions of St. Augustine, the *Vision of God* is addressed to the deity. It is written with a warmth and emotion that glow, particularly in the later chapters (xviii-xxv). The creature can only attain union with God because he is *amabilis et intelligibilis*; He is to be loved as Deus genitus, the “absolute mediator,” beloved of the Father, loving Him in turn. The son is *medium unionis omnium*: the means of uniting all. To Nicholas the mediator is the uniter. Human nature could not be united to the Father, save by the Son’s mediation. “Who is not deeply ravished when he meditates carefully on this? For Thou, my God, openest to me such a secret, that I see that man cannot understand Thee, the Father, save in Thy Son, who is intelligible and the mediator; and that to understand Thee is to be united to Thee.” The Son, medium of union, is human nature “profoundly united” to God. Jesus Himself is to be understood as the union (*copulatio*) of divine and human nature (ch. xx). Nicholas thinks of Him as “within the wall of Paradise,” since His intellect is both Truth and the Image of Truth, and He both Creator and created; not “without the

wall," for that is not possible, since he combines the divine creating nature with human nature created. It is the humanity of Jesus that draws men to the Father. *Per te, Iesu, omnes attrahit Pater homines.* To Cusanus mediation meant the nexus of love.

In the sermon *Vere filius Dei erat iste*,¹ Jesus is represented as the Word of the Father sending the Father's message in brief over the earth.² The humanity of Christ, a living book, is the conclusion of all books, writings, forms, arts, technique. A conclusion is "a brief word, gathering up in its power all that could not be sufficiently explained in many books: for it is the conclusion for which everything is written; for the things that are written are but its explication." Those who tend to think of Nicholas as the severe and abstract philosopher would do well to turn to the *De Visione Dei* and the Sermons. Here they will find passages of a serene and moving simplicity. His learning does not impede him here. Allusions to the canon law, his patristic learning and mathematical terminology are laid aside, and a poetic and humble spirit is revealed in the limpid prose of a great Latinist.

Cusanus is not a casuist; he is no moral theologian. He is so wrapped up in his vision that sin and error seem very far in the distance. There is scarcely any doctrine of the atonement; the sermons are mainly concerned with the nature of God and the person of Christ, but the sacrifice of the mediator is little dwelt upon. Nicholas had seen what corruption meant in high places. His reform of the German monasteries shows him to have been a shrewd and judicious churchman whose eyes were open to the abuses prevalent. Yet, save for the practical political chapters at the end of the *De Concordantia Catholica*, there is little in his work that is concerned with the problem of evil. His was a metaphysician's, not a moral philosopher's, mind. He saw the finite and infinite in terms of relationship, and looked for the union of created man with the creating Father through the mediation of the Son and the harmonizing of the Spirit.

¹ *Excitationum Liber*, v; *Opera*, p. 490.

² "Est verbum patris abbreviatum super terram": *loc. cit.* Cf. especially the "Dies Sanctificatus" (ed. Hoffmann and Klibansky), pp. 34-36.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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IV.

ZAINAB AŞ-ŞAFAWĪYAH, A SAMARITAN POETESS.

IN the collection of Samaritan MSS. in the Library there is a codex (Ryl. Sam. Cod. XIV) with the title

هذا كراس تشايح يقالو في الزيارات وفي ليالي الحدود والحظ والانشراف وبعد
قرايه مولد سيدنا موسي ابن عمران عليه السلام تاليف من ياتي ذكرهم
رحمهم الله تعالى امين.

“This is a miscellany¹ of poems for use on pilgrimages, the eves of Sundays,² and occasions of special happiness and festivity, and after the reading of the ‘Birth of our Master Moses, son of Amram,’³ on whom be peace, with authors as indicated. May God most high have mercy upon them. Amen.”

The pilgrimages referred to were visits paid by companies of Samaritans to the tombs of the patriarchs in the neighbourhood of Shechem. These included the tomb of Joseph which lay some three miles to the east of Shechem in the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, and the tombs of Eleazar⁴ and Ithamar,

¹ Lit. ‘quires’.

² The ‘eves of Sundays’ would be the evenings following directly on the completion of the Sabbaths. According to Sir Arthur Cowley, however, ليالي الحدود is the plural of לילת חדה and represented the first nights after special festivals which they were regarded as completing.

³ Presumably the book on the Birth of Moses, written by Ismā’il b. Rumaīḥ, a copy of which (Ryl. Sam. Cod. X) is in the library.

⁴ See Joshua xxiv. 33.

sons of Aaron, and Phinehas, son of Eleazar, at the village of 'Awarta (or 'Amarta) some three and a half miles south of Joseph's tomb. The time usually chosen for such pilgrimages was immediately after the celebration of the Passover on Mount Gerizim. The pilgrimage songs are naturally appropriate to the occasion and consist of eulogies of the saint in question. Amongst the poems for special occasions of happiness and festivity are several drinking songs where the wine cup and the carouse are lauded. The codex comprises some eighty poems. The nucleus of the collection is the group of twenty-four poems transcribed by 'Abdullah b. Murjān in the year 1723. Thereafter considerable additions were made to the number by 'Amram b. Salāmah, Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm and others, towards the middle of last century. The poems are in three languages—Hebrew, Samaritan, and Arabic. There are several which have Hebrew stanzas alternating with Arabic, or Samaritan with Arabic. In such cases the Arabic stanza is generally a translation of the preceding Hebrew or Samaritan stanza, but sometimes it carries on the theme of the poem. As a general rule the alternate Arabic stanza is of the same metrical pattern as the Hebrew or Samaritan with which it is associated. The great majority of the poems are in Arabic only.

The Arabic language, because its roots are both consonantal and trilateral and the development of its verbal forms so rigidly formal, possesses a wealth of words whose vowel schemes are the same. It is thus admirably suited to rhyme. The Samaritan poet had the added advantage that in addition to classical Arabic forms he could use in the service of his rhyme a wide range of vernacular variants. The strophic form is much the most common in the poems in our codex. Arabic poetry in Spain from the tenth to the eleventh centuries had come in contact with the popular songs of Spain and Provence leading to the introduction of new and elaborate strophic forms. With the transference of these to the East fresh stimulus was given to elaborating strophic schemes in popular poetry. The variety of metric patterns displayed in the strophic poems in this collection is remarkable. The most common is a stanza of four hemistichs, the first three of which rhyme together, whilst the fourth rhymes

with the fourth of every other stanza throughout the poem. In its form it is reminiscent of the first four lines of the Burns stanza. A good example in English is Christina Rossetti's

O where are you going with your love locks flowing
On the west wind blowing along this valley track? ¹

As, however, the Arabic would generally prefer each hemistich to be an independent statement it would appear in Arabic form as

O where are you going? Your love locks are flowing.
Them the west wind is blowing. You tread this valley track.

Two features which are normally found in the poems in our codex should be mentioned. The first stanza has all four (or more) hemistichs in the same rhyme as the last hemistich of each stanza, which may be described as the common rhyme of the whole poem.² The other feature is that the author of the poem contrives to work his own name into one of the stanzas, usually the second last. This weaving of the name into the fabric of the poem ensured that authorship would not be challenged nor forgotten.

The names of the authors of a large number of the poems in our codex are given in the rubrics but in the case of a number of them it is admitted that the author is unknown. Of particular interest is the fact that three of the poems are ascribed to a poetess, Zainab aṣ-Ṣafawīyah, i.e. of the Ṣafī family. Poetesses, although not unknown, are *rarae aves* in Arabic literature. Strong religious emotion would appear to be their main inspiration, as witness the Ṣufite poetess, Rābi'ah al-'Adawīyah of Baṣra (died, IXth cent.). Zainab is no exception. The first two of her poems here preserved are hymns of supplication. The third is in praise of Moses. The Samaritans, it ought to be recalled, recognized only the Law (the first five books of the Old Testament) as Scripture, and Moses, the giver of the Law, was their great Prophet and Mediator. Of Zainab herself we know nothing. Two of her poems are included in the nucleus of the

¹ *Amor Mundi : Poems*, ed. of 1899, p. 192.

² This is a development of the classical *qaṣīdah* form where the first two hemistichs always rhymed.

collection, the transcription of which was made in the year 1723. Hence she must have lived prior to that date¹—probably some considerable time prior, to allow an adequate space of time for her poems to receive sufficient recognition to be included in the collection. The fact that the third poem, in its present fragmentary form, was added as late as the year 1834 shows that her poems must have had a certain vogue in Samaritan circles. I give here the three poems of Zainab with a rendering in English verse. In so doing I have aimed at keeping as close as possible to the Arabic. Since, however, in our Arabic text there are no vowels and no punctuation marks, and free use is also made of the vernacular, it is not always possible to determine what is the exact meaning of a passage or phrase, so that alternative renderings are possible in places.² These the Arabic scholar can decide for himself by a comparison between text and translation.

Of the metric schemes of the poems I have attempted to give a suggestion in the translation but nothing more. Arabic prosodists measure their metres quantitatively, whilst English prosodists who have attempted to measure English verse by quantity have met with small success. Thus Zainab's first poem measured quantitatively is spondaic, yet if analysed as spoken it becomes, on the stress measurement of English verse, trochaic. Transliterating the first two lines of the first poem given below and supplying the vowels and stresses, we get

Yá waḥdénī má lak ténī
Mín iḥsénak lá tansénī

which, as we see, is spondaic in quantity, but trochaic in stress measurement. The English rendering I have supplied is, how-

¹ The phrase 'the mercy of God be upon her' in the rubrics to her poems indicates that she was at that time dead.

² "As it has been put, an Arabic text contains only seventy-five per cent. of the meaning, and the remaining twenty-five per cent. has to be supplied by the reader. It is possible, in consequence, to know the meaning of every word in a sentence and to understand its syntactical construction, and yet to hesitate between two wholly different interpretations. Nor is it merely the European scholar who is handicapped in this way; even the native scholar will fall frequently into error unless he has access to the oral tradition which supplements the written text."—H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, 1926, p. 13.

ever, iambic, Zainab's poems fall into the category of verse rather than poetry. Even allowing for the fact that some of her lines have been distorted and mutilated in oral transmission there is nothing outstandingly great in them. They are full of religious phrasings and there is little evidence of deep poetic insight or expression. The verses are not lacking in fervour and move with a good cadence. The metric scheme is generally well adhered to although there are occasional lapses. Although Zainab's poems do not touch great heights, they are not inferior to other poems of the same character in the collection. She holds her own well with the Samaritan religious poet.

For convenience of reference I have added numbers to the verses.

I.

Ryl. Sam. Cod. XIV, pp. 17-18. This poem and the one which follows it were transcribed by 'Abdullah b. Murjān in A.H. 1139 (A.D. 1723). The poem comprises 13 stanzas, each of 4 hemistichs, the first 3 of which rhyme together whilst the fourth rhymes throughout in *—اني*. The first 3 hemistichs have 8, the fourth 9 (8), syllables. The first hemistich of each stanza has, or was designed to have, internal rhyme.¹ The fact that it is lacking in some stanzas would seem to indicate that there we do not have the original form of the line.

TEXT.

من قول زينب الصفويه رحمه الله تعالى عليها امين

1.

يا وحداني ما لك ثاني من احسانك لا تنساني
فيض صدقاتك هو يكفاني كهوي عفوك والغفراني

2.

يا من يعطي وليس يستعطي واحسان فضله لم ينقطعني
من شا رفعه ومن شا حطني ومن شا ميزه بالرحماني

¹ Known to English prosodists also as 'bisecting' or 'Leonine' rhyme.

3.

يا من ملك ما قد يملك واغنا عبده وعبده صملك
واروا عبده طريق الملك لم عنده ظلم ولا عدواني

4.

يا من اغنا ما قد يغنا عن طريق السو واشتتنا
وطلب توبه في المعنا يغنيه الله بالغفراني

5.

يا جود موجود والجود فعلك والحير غامرنا من فضلك
لم تحوي النجل لكمال عدالك كريم وهاب ورحاني

6.

يا حاكم حقًا لا تعجل حقل تقبض وبه تمهل
واغفر دنبي فانه اكمل وصفح عني يا سلطاني

7.

يا متعالي ارحم حالي واصفح عني واجلي بالي
وابعد عني الاحالي وعوفني حق الميزاني

8.

يا متجلي ارحم دلي حكمك سعدي وعفوك ضلي
اغفر دنبي قبل اولي وقبل اندرج في الاكثاني

9.

يا من يعلم ما لا نعلم يعطي ويجود ولم يندم
يعلم من يهلك او من يسلم من حين تخلق في المصراني

10.

من حين يخلق جوا الاحشا مولود ينشا او لم ينشا
او يكبر او يتمشا او جيد او ردي او خواني

11.

يعلم ما هو من هو حيث هو الله ربي ومعبودي هو
وليس اله سوي هو هذا للطاعة والايماني

12.

نظم وتاليف الصفويه الفقيره المهدبه
الراجيه حلم رب البريه العفو منه والغفراني

13.

يا من حضر سلم وهم علي نيك موسي الكليم
لعل تبيري من الجحيم وتسكن في فسخ الجناني

تم ذلك بعون الله تعالى

TRANSLATION.

Composed by Zainab aş-Şafawīyah ; the mercy of God most high be upon her. Amen.

1.

O God alone, beside whom none !
Of thy great good thou wilt not me disown,
Thy righteousness sufficient have I known,
Forgiveness grant unto thine erring one.

2.

Who yet supplies though no one cries,
Whose goodness liveth on nor ever dies,
One he degrades, and one permits to rise,
And as he wills he scales betwixt the twain.

3.

He who is King o'er everything,
Who wealth to man or beggary can bring,
To show his slave the pathway of the King.
To him nor wrong nor enmity pertain.

4.

O man replete, rich to surfeit
In error much and fashions of deceit !
Ask mercy of thy God with heart complete,
His pardon full will thee enrich again.

5.

O Goodness sure, here to endure !
In thy great good help us to live secure,
Can feeble man to thy perfection pure
O noble, bountiful and kind, attain ?

6.

Ruler of right, haste not in might ;
Justice restrain to slow on us alight,
Our sins forgive, most Perfect in our sight !
Thy mercy grant, O thou who canst constrain.

7.

O God most high ! thy love supply ;
My sins forgive, me punishment deny,
Remove from me temptations lurking nigh,
The rightful fate decreed for me restrain.

8.

Who canst reveal ! my weakness heal,
Assist me with thy grace, my sins conceal.
Forgive my faults, and soon, is my appeal,
Before the shroud enwraps and all is vain.

9.

What he doth know, we cannot know,
His good he freely gives, nor grief doth show ;
He knows the lost, the saved—and it is so,
Before the wombs the new-formed lives sustain.

10.

Eternal, he the birth to be
 Determined in the womb by his decree,
 Or great or small—so must it surely be,
 Or good or bad, or what is merely vain.

11.

He knoweth now the whence, the how,
 The what—our God to whom we bow.
 One God alone none other we avow,
 Him will we serve and faith in him maintain.

12.

T'is Zainab, she of low degree,
 Composed this hymn to God in urgent plea
 That her Creation's Lord from sin may free,
 His mercy send with pardon in its train.

13.

Now one and all let blessings fall
 On him who to God's very face did call.
 May Moses you from torments dread recall,
 And joys for you in Paradise obtain.

Finished [the copying of] this with the help of God most high.

II.

Ryl. Sam. Cod. XIV, pp. 42-45. A poem of 24 stanzas. It has the same metric scheme as the preceding. The Arabic is generally octosyllabic in the first 3 hemistichs with variations in the fourth. The Arabic metre with its repetition of the ^{و س و س و س}مستفعلن foot (≅ — ◡ —) would seem to represent a shortened (dimeter) form of the *rajaz*, a metre which is basically iambic. Such blemishes as the repetition of expressions or ideas in whole or in part as in stanzas 1 and 3 suggest that we may not have the poem throughout in its original form. The translation given here does not follow the Arabic metric scheme.

TEXT.

تسبيحه علي وزن يا ربنا من قول زينب الصفويه رحمه الله تعالى
عليها امين امين.

1.

يا ربنا انت الكريم انظر لعبدك السقيم
هذه الذي طول ليلته يطلب رضي الله العظيم

2.

طول ليلتي طول ليلتي ارعي النجوم بعوينتي
وافنكي في حقرتي العفو من نار الجحيم

3.

يا ربنا انت الجليل انظر لعبدك الدليل
هذه الذي طول ليلته يطلب رضي الله الكريم

4.

عبدك انا حائر حزين خائف من يوم المين
ويطلب من الله المعين توبه وغفران ونعيم

5.

يا حيرتي يوم الرحيل يوم عظيم ليس له متيل
يا الله شفاعه¹ الحليل ويشفع لنا موسي الكليم

6.

ما تفتكر يوم الزوال يوم عظيم ليس له متال
العفو من هذه الضلال العفو من نار الجحيم

7.

ما تفتكر يوم الوقوف قدام مولانا صفوف
وربنا الحاكم رووف يرفق بنا وهو الكريم

¹ Abraham was often called الحليل , 'the friend' of God, so called also in
Isaiah xli. 8.

8.

نفسى وقلبي اتنينهم اتعبوني بينهم
وعدبوني بينهم يا الله توبة يا عليم

9.

نفسى وقلبي اتدنا فى الخطايا ويلنا
وان نعود طوبا لنا نسلم من نار الجحيم

10.

نفسى وقلبي غافلين فى الخطايا واقمين
وان لم نطيع المومنين والا العذاب لنا اليم

11.

عبدك انا كثير الزلل وليس لي صالح عمل
لولا الرجا خاب الامل العفو منك يا قديم

12.

يا خزوتي من الدنوب يا حيرتي من العيوب
وكل ما قلنا نتوب الجهل والطفيا عيم

13.

كيف العمل يوم الوعيد والخلق والعالم وريد
والحق متجلي فريد يا بخت من قلبه سليم

14.

يا بخت من فعله حسن وسالم من دنب اللسان
هداك الجنة سكن وربنا هو العليم

15.

يا ويل من فعله قبيح وكتر المعاصي له مبيح
وهذاك جهنم له ضريح وعداب زايد مقيم

28

16.

يا ويل من فسخ العهد يا ويل من خان الجدود
هداك جهنم له خلود اجعل بالك يا فهم

17.

يا ويل من يسخف ابيه يا ويل من يفض اخيه
هداك فعله يكتفيه يوم يقف عريان حميم

18.

يا خجلتي يوم الحساب يوم ان يقرأ الكتاب
ويرتفع عنا الحجاب والرب الخافي العليم

19.

كيف العمل كيف الجواب يا رب اهدي للصواب
ما لي طاقه علي العذاب يا الله عفوك يا رحيم

20.

مولاي اغفر زلتي واسمع دعائي وصرختي
واقبل رجو لوعتي وارضا علينا يا حلیم

21.

يا ربنا انت اللطيف انظر لعبدك الضعيف
بعمل اباتنا والنصيف والشرفا والمهد والمقيم

22.

وبعمل يهوشع ابن نون ابو الحروب والفنون
وبعمل داود الحنون وسبعين شيخ وموسي الكليم

23.

واغفر دنبي والوزر بعمل ادم ابو البشر
زينب اسمى قد ظهر اسمع تصافي يا فهم

24.

تم الصلات تم السلام علي المبرقع بالضم
موسي الرسول زين الانام شفاعته تبري السقيم

تم ذلك بعون الله تعالى وكرمه

TRANSLATION.

A hymn to the measure of ربنا يا , by Zainab aş-Şafawīyah,—
the mercy of God, most high, be upon her. Amen, Amen.

1.

O ever gracious God and Lord,
Give heed to him who is abhorred,
Who through the weary hours of night
Seeks favour in his Master's sight.

2.

All night I lie, all night I lie,
And shepherd stars with tiny eye :
And in my baseness I desire
Salvation from Gehenna's fire.

3.

O Lord our God, who art so great,
Behold thy slave in low estate,
Who through the weary hours of night
Seeks favour in his Master's sight.

4.

Thy servant I, in sore dismay
And trembling for the Judgment Day,
Entreat from him who succours all
Repentance, favour, peace withal.

5.

O woeful day when forth we fare !
Can such a day with aught compare ?
To Abram may our God pay heed,
And Moses for us intercede.

6.

Remember then the day we die,
A day whose greatness none decry,
Seek pardon for our sin and shame,
And refuge from Gehenna's flame.

7.

And ponder well the day we stand
Before our Master, band on band ;
May God the Ruler pity show
And mercy by his grace bestow !

8.

My heart and soul, an eager twain,
Combine to make me suffer pain,
And down on me afflictions call :
Forgive, O Lord, who knoweth all.

9.

My heart and soul, together be
Conjoined in sin, O woe is me !
Good to restore is my desire,
And safety from Gehenna's fire.

10.

My heart and soul in careless way
In sinfulness have gone astray,
And if to saints we pay no heed,
Affliction sore will be our meed.

11.

Thy servant in whom sins abound
 In me no good deed can be found,
 Though hope no expectation hold
 Thy pardon grant, O God of Old.

12.

O for my sins upon me shame !
 O for my crimes to suffer blame !
 Repent we that our words are vain
 Where folly and injustice reign.

13.

Consider well the appointed day
 When world and creatures pass away,
 When truth's dread secrets must be braved,
 O happy he whose soul is saved !

14.

O happy he whose deeds are wise !
 Whose tongue is freed from sin and lies,
 For he in Paradise will dwell
 Since God the thoughts of all can tell.

15.

Woe to the man to ill disposed
 With all his rebel acts disclosed !
 His grave shall be Gehenna's fire
 His punishment its torments dire.

16.

O woe to him who pacts doth break,
 Or way of fathers doth forsake !
 For him Gehenna is decreed
 O understanding one, pay heed.

17.

O woe to him who father flouts !
O woe to him who brother scouts !
His deeds against him shall record,
When bare he stands before his Lord.

18.

O hide me at the reckoning dread,
The day whereon the Book is read !
The veil no longer us conceals
And God, all-knowing Lord, reveals.

19.

As is the deed, so the reply,
Lord guide me to the truth, be nigh !
Since punishment thou dost control
Have mercy, Lord, upon my soul !

20.

O Master, pardon sinful deed :
To prayer and bitter cry give heed !
Receive the prayer I humbly send :
In grace, O God all-wise, commend.

21.

O ever gracious Lord, we crave
Thou wilt behold thy wretched slave !
For Nobles, Fathers, and the Pure ¹
For Abram and the Cov'nant sure.

22.

For Joshua's sake, the son of Nun,
Father of wars and arts each one : ²

¹ An epithet often applied to Noah.

² Joshua, son of Nun was renowned for his wisdom of which much is made in Rabbinic literature. In Deut. xxxiv. 9 it is recorded that at Moses' death Joshua was filled with the 'spirit of wisdom'.

For Caleb's sake, who mercy showed,
The Seventy, too, and him who talked with God.

23.

O to my sins and faults be blind
Because of Adam first of all mankind !
Zainab my name is, you are now aware,
Be reconciled, O Wise beyond compare !

24.

Let prayer and peace again be vowed
On him whose veil was gathering cloud,
On Moses, prophet, glory of men all,
Whose intercession frees the wretched thrall.

Finished [the copying of] this with the help of God most high
and his grace.

III.

Ryl. Sam. Cod. XIV, p. 116. Transcribed by Ibrāhīm b. Šāliḥ b. Murjān b. Muslim b. Murjān. The copyist was thus a great-grandson of the famous Samaritan scholar Muslim b. Murjān. The copyist of the earliest part of the codex ('Abdullah) was a brother of Muslim. Both Muslim and 'Abdullah were fine penmen, but the same cannot be said of the copyist of this poem. The art of penmanship does not seem to have descended to the later members of the family, for the writing here is miserable. The pen has not been good and the text is smudged in places. The poem consists of 6 stanzas basically on the same metric pattern as the other two but with the introduction and ending to each stanza constant. The syllables vary in the hemistichs from 10 to 12, assuming that it was read as classical Arabic. Analysed on the basis of stress it presents a mixture of trochaic and iambic. The poem as here given is obviously only fragmentary.

TEXT.

تسيحه من قول زينب الصوفيه رحمه الله عليها امين امين
يلبي علي البحر شوقني في تنظيم¹ ٠٦٧٣٠١٢٨ في مدح النبي

1.

هو موسي ابن عمران عطفي حتي اندهش والقا عصاته قلبنا حنش
يا ربي ازوره في وقت الدغش هده هو شفيعي يوم الموقفي

2.

هو موسي ابن عمرم خاطبه خالقه واعطا الشريعه ووقف ناطقه
يا ربي اجارره وما افارقه هده هو شفيعي يوم الموقفي

3.

هو موسي ابن عمرم سركتله (?) الصفوق واخه مريم تدق بالدفوف
وتنغم ٠٦٧٣٠١٢٨ الحسن راووف وتنغم ٠٦٧٣٠١٢٨ في مدح النبي

4.

هو موسي ابن عمرم نبي الهدي والنار تحت رجله شبه النبي
لما ذكرته زال عن قلبي الصدي هده هو شفيعي يوم الموقفي

5.

هو موسي ابن عمرم نبي البشر والماء نبعت له من قلب الحجر
هده هو حبيبي طاهر لم ينكر هده هو شفيعي يوم الموقفي

6.

هو موسي ابن عمرم سيد الكونين واعطا الشريعه علي اللوحين
بالشر كلمات فيهم الكونين هده هو شفيعي يوم الموقفي

تمت بالخير في ٧ رجب سنه ١٢٥٠

¹ 'Then sang'—the rubric to the 'Song of Moses,' Ex. xv. 1 ff. It was used by the Samaritans as its title.

TRANSLATION.

A hymn by Zainab aş-Şufīyah,¹ the mercy of God be upon her. Amen.

What follows is in the metre شوقني on the composition of אֶזְרָא · יִשְׂרָאֵל in praise of the Prophet.

1.

T'is Moses, son of Amram : he gave to ease our plight,
At his abiding in our midst our hearts fill with delight ;
I visit him, O Lord my God, when darkly falls the night.
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

2.

T'is Moses, Son of Amram : God spake with him in grace,
And gave to him the holy Law conversing face to face ;
I'd hold him, Lord, nor ever set twixt him and me a space.
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

3.

T'is Moses, son of Amram : him the serried ranks would greet,
The while his sister Miriam the tambourines did beat,
And sang so very tenderly *Az Yashir*,² the complete.
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

4.

T'is Moses, son of Amram : a prophet he of right,
The fire he tramples 'neath his feet like dewdrops of the night,
Whenever I remember him my sorrows take their flight.
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

¹ Literally 'Zainab the *Şūfīte*'—It may be a deliberate play on Şafawīyah, or may be merely an error.

² In the Massoretic text we have *Az yashir* (אֶזְרָא · יִשְׂרָאֵל). It would appear, then, that the Samaritans sounded the second syllable of *yashir* short.

5.

T'is Moses, son of Amram : the prophet he of man,
For him from out the flinty rock the waters bubbling ran ;
O pure is he and holds my love as other never can,
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

6.

T'is Moses, son of Amram : a lord of worlds the twain,
Who gave the Law on tables two that we might it maintain ;
What our two lives demand of us the Ten Words clear contain.
—T'is he will intercede for me upon the Judgment Day.

Finished happily [the copying] on 7th of Rajab, 1250
[Nov. A.D. 1834].

DON ISAAC ABRAVANEL: FINANCIER, STATESMAN AND SCHOLAR, 1437—1937.¹

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I.

THE Christian reconquest of Spain during the first half of the thirteenth century inaugurated a vigorous Crusade of the Church for a united Christian nation. Islam retreated to Granada, the southernmost part of Andalusia.

¹ A lecture delivered in the University of Manchester on 24th May, to commemorate the quincentenary of his birth.

As only those works of Abravanel which are quoted were available for the preparation of this lecture a final judgment on his real significance must be deferred to a comprehensive monograph, based on the whole literary remains extant and the literature on Abravanel, which the present writer intends to write in due course. The following studies could, with regret, not be used, as they were, or still are, not accessible. For the life- and political-history of Abravanel: F. Baer's *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien II*; for Abravanel as religious philosopher: Jakob Guttman's *Die religionsphilosophischen Lehren des Isaak Abravanel*, Breslau, 1916; for the Biblical exegesis of Abravanel: S. Grünberg's *Eine Leuchte der Biblexegese um die Wende des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1928, which the author kindly sent me on request, but too late for inclusion in this paper. The *M.G.W.J.*, 1937, Heft 3, also contains two articles on Abravanel by S. E. Urbach on *Die Staatsauffassung des Don Isaak Abrabanel*, and by J. Bergmann on *Abrabanel's Stellung zur Agada*. The former is a notable contribution (see p. 464, note 2). This came to my notice only after my paper had been sent to the printer. Be it noted here generally for the whole paper that many questions and aspects of Abravanel's teaching could not be dealt with, and others which deserve a fuller treatment could only be touched upon. This will be given them in the intended monograph, in which some views propounded here may need revision after a more careful study of Abravanel and his predecessors has been made. A comprehensive history of the Jewish exegesis in the Middle Ages (Bacher ends with Maimonides) is a serious *lacuna*. To assess Abravanel's own contribution to Biblical exegesis it is indispensable to compare his commentaries in a very detailed analysis with the previous exegesis. The present paper is therefore only a modest attempt to make a small contribution to that problem.

The whole country of Spain, though divided politically into Castile, Aragon and Navarre, was now opened up for an extensive Christian propaganda, led by the zealous Dominicans, who called upon the Christian monarchs to dissociate themselves from the Jews and to assist the Church in purging the peninsula from both Muslim and Jewish infidels. It is true, the Laws passed by the Lateran Council of 1215 and repeated by subsequent papal Decrees were directed against these two sections of the Spanish population alike, but in practice it amounted in the first place to a life and death struggle against the Jews. In accordance with the discriminating laws of the Church, the kings issued decrees and made laws against their loyal Jewish subjects. They found it, however, very difficult to put these laws, suggested to them by their Christian conscience and the active Spanish clergy, into practice. For the Jews fulfilled an important and indispensable function in the political and economic life of Spain. Represented in all classes of the population, they formed, in particular, a large part of the middle class engaged in crafts, trade, and commerce and were prominent among the king's financial advisers, and tax farmers. The wars against the Moors were costly and so were later Dynastic troubles. In any case it was the Jewish treasurer or financial advisers and agents who had to supply the necessary money. He who is in charge of the financial administration usually wields considerable political influence as well. It is easy to understand that the Spanish nobility intensely disliked Jews to occupy such key positions by virtue of their ability and loyalty which they themselves claimed by virtue of their birth and position. That the royal house made use of Jewish doctors created additional ill-feeling and the fact that Jews were prominent among the tax farmers made them unpopular among the masses. To complete this dismal picture one need only think of the luxurious life of the few Jews who had risen to the high positions and lived just like the other Spanish Grandees. The crown, however, felt that the Jews were necessary for a smooth functioning of the administration, and were not prepared to dispose of their services. I cannot trace here the development of the "Jewish question" leading up to the disastrous events

of the year 1391, in which the excited mob, led by a fanaticised clergy, indulged in a cruel massacre of the Jews throughout Castile. Thousands preferred death to baptism, but a considerable number took baptism, many of them in the hope of returning to their inherited faith after order had been restored. Among the latter we find the grandfather of Isaac Abravanel who escaped death in Seville, where the family had lived for generations, by embracing Christianity. But he fled to Lisbon and returned to Judaism. The Church was not dissatisfied with the result and the success seemed to justify their methods. They thought that the day could not be far off when all the Jews would, either by persuasion or force, adopt the dominant religion. The political authorities deplored such outbreaks of violence and in most cases intervened successfully to avoid a complete annihilation of the valuable Jewish element. They were, naturally, not opposed to a peaceful propaganda among the Jews. At first tolerance of other religions prevailed in Spain, the Jews enjoyed religious autonomy and an organisation in communities of their own. Although the Government made this concession for reasons of better control and a guaranteed regular income, from taxes and tributes, the Jews benefited from this system and could maintain their cultural autonomy. Gradually the Government gave way to clerical pressure and lent their authority to religious disputations. The Jews had even to attend in their own synagogues missionary sermons by Dominicans (and later also Franciscans). Invitations to public disputations could not be refused, but the Jews had to be very careful in their replies to questions which they had to answer and could not attack openly the Christian dogma. The first disputation took place in Barcelona in 1263, in the presence of the king of Aragon. Raimund Pennafort, head of the Dominican order in Spain and confessor of the king, was in the chair. Pablo Christiani, a zealous convert, could not convince his Jewish opponent, Nachmanides, that the Messiah had already risen in the Divine Christ, by his martyrdom and death the Saviour of mankind, and that the Torah of the Jews had been abrogated thereby. Despite his victory, Nachmanides was sent into exile because he had repeated in a treatise what he had

answered to his opponent. The Church could not suffer defeat, thus the fate of the rabbi should prove to the Christian world at least the superiority of Christianity as interpreted by the Dominican. The Jews were intimidated incessantly by predicator monks and were exposed to all sorts of humiliation, from the exclusion from holding public offices down to the badge on their outer garments and other distinctions from the Spaniards. They were also forbidden to employ Christian servants. Although these restrictive laws were temporarily rescinded, it was this stigma of outcasts from Spanish society which weighed heavily on the Jewish mind. Discriminating laws, Dominican propaganda, a mob, ready at any moment to fall upon the Jews in the name of Christ, but in reality in the hope of rich spoil, they altogether undermined the Jewish resistance, especially in the higher circles of society where assimilation to the Spanish way of life prevailed. No wonder, that many accepted Christianity hoping to escape spiritual torture and social degradation. The Church did not fail to influence their souls so that their conversion should be followed by sincerity and active participation in their new faith. For it did not escape the ever vigilant eyes of the clergy that secretly these New Christians (Marranos) practised their old faith, that they kept friendship with their relatives and Jewish friends. This behaviour threatened to deprive the Church of the fruits of Dominican efforts. The old problem remained, and another disputation was held in Tortosa in 1413 with the object of effacing all traces of Judaism by complete surrender. A new phase in the struggle began with the united efforts of the archbishop Paul of Burgos, formerly Rabbi Solomon Hallewi, the unscrupulous Vicente Ferrer and Benedict XIII. Among the defenders of Judaism was Joseph Albo (1380-1440). Geronimo de Santa Fe, formerly R. Joshua of Lorca, fought for the Church. The question of the Messiah was again the centre of discussion, which ended without the expected result. Terrorism and intimidation continued, although the Jews enjoyed a temporary respite during the four decades following upon Tortosa. Only the union of Aragon and Castile through the marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella in 1474 opened the last phase, ending, as is well known, with the

expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. This time the Marranos were the target of the combined attack of State and Church. The decisive march towards a united Christian Spain began with the introduction of the Inquisition in Spain under Torquemada, the Dominican confessor of the queen. Countless victims demonstrated again and again to their judges that the Church could only secure the unconditional surrender of all the Marranos with their families by a complete removal of the Jews. For these were the real obstacle to the effective cure of the New Christians from the Jewish "disease." The conquest of Moorish Granada inspired the leaders with such enthusiasm that the king felt impelled to issue the fatal decree in 1492, that all Jews throughout his kingdom had either to embrace the so visibly victorious faith or leave the realm within three months. The damage which would ensue for the financial and economic life in general was, at least for the time being, negligible compared with the great moral success of eliminating the stubborn Jewish heresy from the distinctly Christian Spanish nation.

II.

Into such a world was born Don Isaac Abravanel in 1437, in Lisbon, where his father acted as financial agent to the Court.¹ Isaac received an extensive education in Jewish and secular learning, which enabled him to gain distinction as a writer so great that he can be regarded as the last prominent scholar of the Spanish period in Jewish history. He served king Alfonso as financial adviser till the monarch's death in 1481. He tells us that he enjoyed royal favour and the friendship of the ministers and courtiers, which speaks for his personality. Being a man of refined culture with a genuine interest in philosophy and theology, his house became the meeting-place of nobles and scholars. This was valuable for the shaping of his thought, despite his self-accusations that he had—in the company of kings, princes and nobles—neglected study and learning.²

¹ This short biographical note is based on the editor's Hebrew preface to Abravanel's *Commentary on Daniel*.

² Abravanel's preface to his commentary on *Kings* contains an even stronger self-accusation for having forsaken the kingdom of Judah and Israel, his heritage

Alfonso's successor, suspicious of the friends and advisers of his father, persecuted and put them to death. Abravanel speaks of intrigues and calumnies at Court to which he would have fallen victim had not one of his noble friends warned him to evade going to Court on the royal request. He fled into Castile ; this confirmed the king in his suspicion that Abravanel had conspired with his close friend, the Duke of Braganza, against the king. The accusation was entirely unfounded, but the king confiscated Abravanel's whole property. Finding that *Torath haShem* was better than thousands of pieces of gold and silver, Abravanel devoted his leisure to study and teaching and began his *Commentary on the Early Prophets*. He had just begun his *Commentary on the book of Kings* when he received a summons to Ferdinand of Castile, in 1484, which resulted in his appointment as financial adviser and treasurer to the Crown,¹ an office he held until the expulsion. Their Catholic majesties would certainly not have employed a Jew if he did not serve them loyally and in the interests of the country. Both the king and the queen showed him their favour and it is largely due to his skill and resourcefulness that Ferdinand could finance and conduct the "Holy War " against Granada. It adds a touch of irony to the tragic story of the expulsion that Abravanel should have so conspicuously contributed to the successful campaign against the Moors, since Ferdinand's victory was the immediate cause of his anti-Jewish measures, and, moreover, that Abravanel served a queen whose confessor was Torquemada. Abravanel tells the story of that expulsion in passionate terms, speaking of the king who wished to bring under the wings of his God who had given him victory over Granada, the people who walk in darkness, the scattered Israel, and to win back to his religion the backsliding daughter or to send them forth to another country. In vain did he offer his own, and all the money and possessions of the Jews. Equally fruitless was the intervention of his friends, the Spanish grandees, for the queen stiffened the king, and the

—the Abravanel's claimed Davidic descent—and the interpretation of their history for worldly honours and service of other kings.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, and esp. Abravanel's preface to *Joshua* in his *Commentary on the Early Prophets*, Hamburg, 1687.

decree was made public. On the appointed day 300,000 Jews, led by their God, left Spain without clear object.¹ He describes vividly the many misfortunes the exiles had to endure on the high seas and on land, how they were robbed and slain, died of hunger and pestilence, until within a few years their number had dwindled to ten thousand.¹ He himself came to Naples with his family where he wrote his Commentary on *Kings*. Living honoured and in peace among the great he served King Fernando. When Charles of Anjou sacked Naples, Abravanel accompanied Alfonso, Fernando's successor, into exile. His house with his valuable library fell a prey to pillaging French troops. After the king's death he found a refuge in Corfu, from there he wandered to Monopoli, where he wrote most of his books.² At last he found a home with his son Josef in Venice, where he rendered once more public service in negotiating a commercial treaty between the Republic and Portugal about the trade in spices. His advice was eagerly sought until his death occurred in 1508. Among the chief mourners who brought his dead body to the Jewish cemetery in Padua were the leaders of the city. The man who experienced so many vicissitudes in his life could find no rest even in death, for in 1509 the cemetery was destroyed. Abravanel had served the kings and princes wherever he lived. The experience he gained in his political career found expression in his commentaries and other writings. To these we now turn.

III.

To do justice to the literary work of Abravanel we must place it within the history of his time. He lived at the close

¹ Comm. on *Daniel*, 5b. 1; 6b. r.; 7a. l. Preface to *Kings* and Introduction to Comm. on *Deuteronomy* (in *Comm. on the Pentateuch*, Venice, 1579). Esp. the Comm. on *Daniel* contains frequent references to contemporary Jewish history, including the Marranos.

² A full list of his extant works is given in J. Fuerst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*, pp. 11/15, or in *Jew. Enc.* s.v. *Abravanel*. Abravanel refers frequently in his Comms. to his historical work *Yamoth 'Olam* from Adam to his own day, the loss of which is the more to be regretted as it could throw light on Abravanel as historian. We could also learn how he used his knowledge of ancient history and his own political experience in addition to his many remarks in his Comms. He also refers when discussing prophecy to his treatise *maḥaze Shaddai* which is also lost.

of an epoch rich in individual scholars whose achievements in philosophy, science and medicine bore fruit outside Judaism as well, and form an integral part in mediæval culture and civilisation. Abravanel exerted an influence on Biblical exegeses, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, next in importance to Maimonides (1135-1204). But the age of Abravanel was no longer that of Maimonides. The unfavourable atmosphere of persecution and humiliation to which Judaism was subjected left an indelible mark upon the attitude of the Jewish thinkers to the tendencies which had arisen following upon Maimonides. Attack from without, disintegration within, made it imperative for the responsible teachers of Judaism to insist on the strictest adherence to traditional teaching and interpretation, and on rigid observance of the traditional Jewish form of living. Moreover, the days when Muslims, Jews and Christians laid more stress on the binding than the separating features of their systems irrevocably belonged to the past. The tendency to harmonise Revelation and Reason gave way to the subordination if not surrender of speculation. This general process did not pass unnoticed in the Jewish camp. Even without it the Jews could not tolerate free thought undermining the fortress of tradition, and they had to struggle for the maintenance of their religion which was discredited as inferior. They honestly believed that they could achieve this only by reasserting the sole and sufficient authority of Written and Oral Torah. Speculation could not be banned but it had to be limited. There was and is only one truth, that of revelation. Speculation can and must help to bear out this truth, but no longer must Scripture be interpreted to satisfy human reason, if need be by ascribing an esoteric, hidden meaning to Scripture. Reason should help to establish the literal meaning in order to interpret tradition for a persecuted people to sustain them in their inherited faith, to give them strength and confidence in a better future, but first of all to make their plight tolerable by expounding to them the truth and beauty of their own religion. It was necessary to make the people immune against the temptations of the Church and the promises of a better life, both spiritually and materially. The Rabbis of the day fought

those who dissolved Judaism into a philosophic system, into pure Ethics and Metaphysics. No wonder that the character of contemporary Jewish literature is apologetic and polemic in the first place. Defence is necessarily conservative. No doubt, those who believed not in the values of philosophy and science, and consequently wished all secular study to be banned, were reactionary. But the conservative majority saved Judaism from destruction, and handed it down intact to following generations. They did not despise philosophy but at the same time they did not allow Aristotle an authority equal (or even superior) to that of the Torah.

IV.

In such an atmosphere Abravanel grew up. Quite naturally he stands on the shoulders of his predecessors and makes ample use of their interpretations of the Bible. He consulted the sages of the Talmudic period whose authority he acknowledged and, where possible, followed. There are, however, instances where he disagrees or offers an alternative interpretation by expounding the literal meaning of the passage in question. He frankly admits this his indebtedness, but he neither follows nor rejects earlier findings blindly. He uses his own judgment, supported by grammatical knowledge and wide experience in the world of affairs. He is undoubtedly greatly influenced in his exposition of the Pentateuch, the Earlier and Later Prophets, and of Daniel by Maimonides, Nachmanides (1194-1270) and Gersonides (1288-1344), and to a lesser degree by Rashi (born 1040) and Ibn Ezra (1091-1167). But he uses them critically and upholds his own against them. His commentaries are far more than a mere compilation, or a convenient summary of earlier views. This is as true of his method as of his comments in detail.¹ He reminds one rather of the modern style of Biblical commentaries with their critical discussion of prior exegesis. Thus, whole chapters in his Commentary on *Daniel*, e.g. deal

¹ Cp. the devastating verdict of the eminent Steinschneider in his *Polemische und apologetische Literatur der Juden etc.*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 375, with n. 55 to the contrary.

with such critical discussions, followed by a sound criticism of their attitude to and interpretation of individual passages. After giving his reasons for and against in a clear exposition he states his own view. Such scholarly procedure is something novel in the history of Biblical exegesis, Jewish as well as Christian. Expressing his disapproval of preceding Jewish exegesis in unmistakable terms he is nevertheless not so conceited as to fancy himself in sole possession of the truth, but admits other interpretations as also possible and good. This measure of objectivity prompted him to introduce into Jewish exegesis an element hitherto unknown. He made a careful, extensive study of the exegesis of the Church fathers and mediæval Christian scholars. This cannot be dismissed by a reference to the apologetic and polemic character of contemporary Jewish literature. True, the Messianic prophecies had to be defended against the Christian claim that Isaiah's predictions pointed to Jesus, and that Daniel's Fifth Empire referred to the reign of the Anti-christ, to quote only two obvious examples. But the numerous quotations of, and references to Jerome and Nicholas of Lyra in the first place, and occasionally to Isidore of Seville,¹ Porphyry, Bede, Leo Africanus and Albertus Magnus and even to the above-mentioned Paul of Burgos and other renegades throughout Abravanel's commentaries, cannot be attributed to such a tendency. Thus we believe there is good reason to ascribe this scholarly attitude to the coming of the new age, and to see in this readiness to look for truth where it can be found, be it even in quarters antagonistic or openly hostile to Judaism, the beginning of scholarship for its own sake which characterizes the Renaissance. This is confirmed by Abravanel's use of Latin Chronicles dealing with the history of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians,² as well as with that of Roman antiquity. His material far exceeds what he found in Josef

¹ Comm on *Daniel*, 53a. r, the sage *Isidro*. For want of space I cannot give references for all names and statements. Porphyry is in this commentary twice referred to as a Christian, once rightly styled a Greek philosopher. Probably Jerome is the source for Abravanel's acquaintance with Porphyry's *Commentary on Daniel* which is no longer extant.

² Frequently referred to as the *Chronicles of the Kings of Persia*, e.g. in *loc. cit.* 41a. r., giving preference to them against the sages.

ben Gorion's *Josippon* (Pseudo-Josephus).¹ Moreover, it generally is not merely embellishment but forms part of the argument, be it to prove the accuracy of the Biblical narrative, to explain it, or to provide a historical background. Though this knowledge and its application do not make Abravanel a humanist in the strict sense, they are characteristic of his personality which is otherwise so typical of the conservative tendency of that period in Judaism whose last representative Abravanel is. Through this side of his personality he clearly reaches over into the next age of human thought. A few examples may illustrate this. He speaks of the various forms of the constitution of Ancient Rome, quotes Vergil, Ovid and other Latin authors in commenting upon Nebuchadnezzar's dream in *Daniel*, and states, in this connection, that Circe knew how to change man into an animal.² Or the expression *as the appearance of horses*, used for the army in *Joel* ii, 4 reminds him of the centaurs whom Hercules had captured.³ It may be argued that all these are minor details without significance, testifying merely to a certain degree of *Bildung* of the author Abravanel. Taken individually by themselves, this cannot be denied, but grouped together, they make a whole which cannot be overlooked if seen in connection with what can only be called the beginnings of research and of a strictly scientific approach. Not only does Abravanel trace the story of the queen of the Amazons and Alexander the Great, told by Gersonides, back to *Josippon* as the primary source, but he shows a truly scholarly mind in a significant text-critical remark on a passage in the 39th chapter of the *Pirke d'R. Eliezer*. This forms the first part of Abravanel's *Y'shu'oth M'shiho*, in which he collected all the Midrashic-Talmudic evidence for the Messiah. In certain editions, he informs us, he found a variant reading and expounded the

¹ I could only use the Latin translation, ed. Oxford, 1706. Abravanel's sources in addition to the *Josippon* (s. Book. VI, ch. xliii, for various constitutions of Rome, elaborated by Abravanel) must yet be found, especially what is meant by the "Chronicles of the Latins," etc.

² Comm. on *Dan.* 33b. l./34a. r.

³ Also mentioned in A. Merx: *Die Prophetie des Joel*, Halle, 1879, a model comm. which should find successors for all the Biblical books! It is noteworthy for a balanced judgment on Abravanel as a commentator.

passage also according to this variant, adding *if it is correct*.¹ Quite clear and convincing a case for the scientific approach is presented in his attitude to such questions as date and authorship of the *Earlier Prophets* or some of the Hagiographa. In order to realize the characteristic novelty of his method a few remarks are necessary on Abravanel's attitude to his Jewish predecessors as he describes it himself, in contradistinction to his own method of Biblical exegesis. This he defines as an attempt to bring out the clear, literal meaning of the text (*P'shat*) by laying stress on the general meaning and import of the Biblical books. He deplores the method of Abraham ibn Ezra and of Nachmanides who like to speak in riddles, as well as that of Gersonides who aims at expounding the moral value of the narratives. He especially carps at the latter method, which he considers vain in so far as the words of the prophets themselves are valuable ethically and intellectually. He likewise condemns Ibn Ezra for his grammatical exegesis and the superficiality of his literal interpretation which by its brevity is insufficient for the true explanation of the real meaning of Scripture. But in reality he follows him often in detail, expressly stating so ! (He would have done well to adopt his brevity also !) Rashi is, for him, over-dependent on the Midrashic explanations of the sages, a point which is nearer to the truth though rather one-sided.² He naturally acknowledges Rashi's explanation where he finds it good. His own use of the haggadic material of the sages distinguishes him from Rashi in that he subjects this material to criticism and tries to find the reason for such an interpretation which he very often adopts. But it is different with Nachmanides who states in the Preface to his Commentary on the Torah, in strikingly similar terms, his intention to expound the true sense of the Law. But we venture to think that Abravanel is more consistent in putting

¹ 2a. r. Note also the importance of the Exodus from Egypt as the prototype of the future ultimate Redemption, which will also take place in the night of *Passover*.

² *Comm. on Early Prophets*, Introd. 4a. r./l., where he also blames R. D. Qimhi for not giving references to earlier commentaries, Midrashim and sayings of the sages, quoted by him.

his method—which is, in principle at least, also that of Nachmanides—into practice as is amply testified by a large number of dissenting interpretations.¹ He differs more widely from Gersonides, though he follows his form of interpretation by first explaining the words and then giving the meaning of the passage or a larger section. A comparison of the two comments on the first verses in *Genesis* e.g., however, shows that, although most of the twelve words which Abravanel thus explains are also explained by Gersonides, Abravanel keeps much more within the limits of a linguistic and literal interpretation, whereas Gersonides rationalizes as a metaphysicist. The fact that Abravanel makes ample use of philosophical terminology must not lead us to assume that his interpretation is philosophical and aims at the esoteric meaning of Scripture. He does not see any need to write a rational guide to the perception of God on the basis of Scripture like Gersonides. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to look in Abravanel's commentaries for an exclusive application of the method of *P'shat*. He gives sometimes symbolical and figurative explanations² but makes it clear

¹ E.g. in the question what God created first (s. *Comm. on Pentateuch*, *Introd.* to *Genesis*), where he also criticizes Ibn Ezra, Gersonides and Rashi. Or, in the question of the creation of the angels, where he censures also Maimonides and Bahya. In commenting on the meaning of *the light* (*ha'or*) the views of Nicholas of Lyra and of the commentators of the nations are in addition refuted. Abravanel finds the sages of the *Gemara* more helpful, who *know the way of God*, a very characteristic attitude. Other similar phrases run: *the views of these Rabbis* (Maimonides, Nachmanides etc.) *do not agree with the testimony of Torah nor with the words of the sages*; or, *such an interpretation is strange to the literal meaning of Scripture*. Disagreement with Nachmanides, Gersonides, etc., is especially important in the question of the revelation of the Torah to the whole nation. In his comment on *Deut.* xxviii, 15 ff., Abravanel fiercely attacks Nachmanides because for him these verses point to the first Temple, its destruction and the Babylonian exile, as well as to the second Temple. This is intolerable for Abravanel, who nowhere admits any reference to the second Temple and a second exile, for the return from Babel was not the promised Redemption. The Deuteronomic passage, as all other predictions, refer to the final Redemption. The Jews still live in the first Exile, the second Commonwealth was only an episode. Cp. also *Comm. on Daniel*, 61b. 1.

² Cp. his identification of the angels with the Separate Intelligences (*Comm. on Genesis*, *Introd.*) or the expression in *Ezekiel* xi, 19, *heart of stone* (*Y'e shu'oth M'e shiho*, 39b. 1.). Especially the last example is instructive for Abravanel's concession to the figurative method if a literal meaning is incompatible with

that such a meaning is additional to the verbal significance of the particular passage. He admits a deviation from the *P'shat* only in such very rare cases where the literal meaning is evidently contrary or inaccessible to human reason, thus distinguishing himself sharply from Maimonides and also Gersonides. This difference is the result of Abravanel's conviction that the divinely revealed Torah is essentially clear in its own terms, and that man can understand the obvious meaning of Scripture with the help of traditional exegesis and his own discerning faculty. By no means must he read into the Bible philosophical theories, which are foreign to Scripture, nor rationalize the Biblical narratives. Despite his indebtedness to previous Jewish exegesis, there is in his clear reasoned argument, combined with a deep knowledge of affairs and a systematic treatment of particular problems arising out of the text, sufficient originality in his commentaries to claim for him high rank as a creative exegete. A number of questions and doubts dealing with the general contents of the books and real difficulties of the text introduce his comments. By that he achieves a unity of treatment of that text and indicates that a solution of these questions brings out the meaning, importance and teaching of the book. Further, he can thus best deal with the various opinions expressed by his Jewish and Christian predecessors and also present his own views. If many of the questions are thus given by his careful study of previous exegesis with the view of answering them satisfactorily, it may be argued that Abravanel kept strictly within the limits set for him by his mediæval milieu. The only advantage of his method would then be a systematic presentation. This should not be belittled, for his method of

reason. Or the four beasts in *Daniel* are explained as *heavenly princes* (Comm. on *Dan.*, 14a.). For a symbolical interpretation see Comm. on *Leviticus*, Introd., where he adduces in addition to Gersonides, whom he here praises, two more reasons for the choice of the three kinds of cattle: (1) *baqar* points to Abraham (cp. *Genesis* xviii, 7), *kebhes* to Isaac, and 'ez to Jacob (cp. *Gen.* xxvii, 9), whereas by *gozel* and *tur* Moses and Aaron are meant. (2) These kinds of cattle and birds were chosen as symbolic for the Israelite nation in connection with such passages as *Amos* iv, 1, or *Hosea* iv, 16. Because of Isaiah's comparison (in ch. liii) with *son* and *rahel* the Israelites are commanded to offer these kinds as a substitute for their own flesh and blood.

adducing every available piece of evidence, positive as well as negative, is in itself a first step in scientific research. But this procedure which is a novelty in Biblical exegesis is outweighed by the courageous manner in which Abravanel lays his finger on real difficulties in the text as not even Ibn Ezra has done before him. He thus laid the foundations of the historico-critical "Einleitungswissenschaft". Whether these questions and doubts are due to scholastic influence cannot easily be determined. An obvious comparison with the frequently quoted Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillæ*¹ to the Pentateuch has so far not convinced us. The fact that he lived at the end of an epoch, the characteristic feature of which was the endeavour to maintain and safeguard a rich heritage, and to repair the breaches and cracks in the wall of tradition, quite naturally suggested to a man of affairs the need to sum up what had been achieved hitherto, and to add to it wherever he had something relevant to say. For, although there was a genuine desire for study and learning in him, he was, as a realist, conscious of the necessity to sustain the shattered hopes of his generation, to strengthen their courage, and to support them in their effort to hold out and survive the tragedy of the expulsion. He intended by expounding to them the good tidings of the *prophet* Daniel "to rouse his people Israel from the sleep of Exile" so that they might take to heart the promises of Redemption to fill the downhearted with new confidence.² But that Abravanel, in addition, could appeal to Christian Bible scholars (Buxtorf the younger, Buddeus, Carpzow and others) and command a place in the science of exegesis outside Judaism as well, is due, not so much to the fact that his criticism of the Christian claim on the Old Testament as pointing to the Messiahship of Jesus represented an important challenge which they felt impelled to refute,³ but rather to his novel approach to the composition, date and authorship of the Biblical books. For this is much more important. His investigation into the general character and meaning

¹ Edition Bale, 1506. For Rashi's influence on Nicholas see A. J. Michalski in a careful study on *Lev., Num. and Deut.* in *ZAW*, 1915/16 in addition to the literature quoted in *Encycl. Jud.*, Band x.

² Comm. on *Dan.*, 7a. l./8a. r.

³ See Fürst, *loc. cit.* (n. 6).

of Scripture is executed under the four categories of Greek philosophy: Purpose, Matter, Agent or Author, and Form.¹ Applying the first, second and fourth categories to the question of the division of the Canon he contrasts the traditional Jewish division into Law, Prophets and Hagiographa with the Christian division into four parts (legal, historical, prophetic and Wisdom literature). He objects to their classification of David among the prophets with his book of Psalms and to *sapientes* as designation of the Hagiographa, thus putting them on the same level as the writings of Aristotle and other philosophers, whereas in reality they are composed with the aid of God (*b'ruah haq-qodesh*). He himself divides the Canon according to the time of the composition of the several books. Chronologically the Law comes first as being written before the entry of Israel into Canaan. All books written during the period of the Hebrew monarchy in *Ereṣ Yisrael* before the Exile are assigned to the second group.² The third group belongs to the period following upon the destruction of the Temple, the Exile and subsequent return.³ Here is at any rate an attempt to apply one guiding principle to the whole corpus of Scripture while evading the question of growth and close of the Canon, and avoiding giving reasons for placing the several books according to subject matter and form.⁴

The discussion of authorship reveals considerable critical acumen. Thus, he states that because of seven passages containing the phrase *unto this day* ⁵ Joshua could not have written his book, for this phrase denotes clearly that the book was written after the events had happened. He is confirmed in that opinion by the narrative of the lot of Dan which must also belong

¹ E.g. in his comment on *Exodus* xix, and in his *Introd. to Comm. on Levit.*

² I.e. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk and Zephaniah. This is, he avers, in accordance with the character of the Scriptures and of the statement of the sages in the *Seder 'Olam (Rabba)*, frequently quoted by him. Its influence on his historical comments will have to be defined. The Psalter, Proverbs and Qoheleth belong to this same period.

³ I.e. Ezekiel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles (written by Ezra). After the return from exile were written Haggai, Zechariah and Mal'achi.

⁴ Preface to *Joshua*, 1b. r./2a. l.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* 2a. l./b. r. bottom. Quoted in their order of occurrence they are: iv, 9; v, 9; vii, 26; ix, 27; xiv, 14; xv, 63; xvi, 10.

to a much later date, for the war of Dan falls in the period of the Judges towards the end.¹ Samuel wrote it as well as *Judges*, whereas he wrote of his own book only those chapters which deal with events in his own day. The other portions of *Samuel* were written by the prophets Nathan and Gad. It was Jeremiah who collected the whole material and made the present book of *Samuel* out of it. In doing so Jeremiah—according to Jewish tradition, shared by Abravanel, the author of the book of *Kings*—undoubtedly added words to explain statements and facts as he understood them on the basis of his own experience, and therefore he said *unto this day*.² But not only experience but also God guided the prophets who worked upon older chronicles when they collected and selected their material. Otherwise they would not have been able to distinguish truth from untruth, and what is necessary from what is not. For it is the way of scribes and recorders to praise or criticize more than is fitting out of love and hatred. Therefore, the prophets could write everything in truth and perfection only by being taught by God. In that way Abravanel vindicates the prophetic character of these four books.³ The discussion why the book of *Ruth*—written according to Jewish tradition by Samuel—is placed in the Canon under the Hagiographa and not under the prophets, serves as another example of Abravanel's positive and creative criticism. From a chronological point of view these stories should be written in *Judges*. But *Judges* deals primarily with the happenings to Israel and the judges in general. Thus, particular things which happened to Jews in

¹ Cp. *Judges*, xviii, esp. v. 31 and xix, 47, with the whole section from 40 ff. Similar reasons are advanced for the view that Samuel did not write his book (cp. v, 5 and vi, 18); before all the phrase in ix, 9: *for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer* clearly points, for Abravanel, to a much later date after Samuel's death when the customs had changed. This example, together with another *to this day* (ii. *Sam.* vi, 8) betray considerable understanding of the chronological and historical problems in these books. Against Jerome's name *Regum* for the book of *Samuel* Abravanel defends the name *Samuel* for the perfect judge and David as the perfect king, the more so since Samuel had written the part dealing with Saul and David.

² *Loc. cit.* 2b. r.

³ 2b. l. The profound problem of prophecy and its difference from *ruah haq-qodesh* was discussed only by Maimonides in his *More* II, ch. 45, wherefore Abravanel discussed it at length in his lost treatise *maḥaze Shaddai*.

this period but did not affect the whole of Israel are left out. Now, Samuel was personally interested in the family history of David, therefore he traced this history back and wrote *Ruth* as a separate Scroll after he had completed *Judges*. As he did so of his own free will and was not commanded by God, such a book composed in honour of David could not be put on the same level with the prophetic writings.¹ This argument shows at least that Abravanel felt a real difficulty and he betrays a critical mind in his attempt to solve it. For him, the several Biblical books formed an organic unity, consequently he wished to bring out the meaning of the book as a whole rather than of the single words. His problem, therefore, was to explain why sections or passages—seemingly out of place for various reasons (historical, chronological or those of character or contents of the book)—occupy their present position, and justify it. Thus he explains the position of Psalm xviii in II. *Samuel* xxii, arguing that it was fitting that David should express in a general song his thanks to God for His visible support in all his battles, and for the successful completion of the wars.² Struck by the numerous variants in Psalm xviii in the Psalter as compared with the same in *Samuel*, Abravanel explains the divergence by making a distinction between two recensions resulting from the different time, circumstances and purpose. In *Samuel* we have a spontaneous dialogue between David and his Creator, composed in David's youth. But when David composed his

¹ *Loc. cit.* 3a. r. Here Abravanel puts and answers the question why *Chronicles*, containing many prophetic stories, is placed with the Hagiographa: (1) Its authors were Ezra and Nehemiah, who were no prophets. (2) They had not received the Divine command to write it. (3) Not by means of prophetic inspiration did they write it but culled the stories from the prophets and Hagiographa which were in their midst, changing facts and proper names in order to improve the understanding of these stories. Moreover, Ezra intended by writing *Chronicles* to set a monument to David and his house as there were left only the two tribes of Benjamin and Juda and as Zerubbabel was of the house of David. He continued the story in *Ezra* (return from Exile, building of the second Temple). As he considered both books as one, the last words of *Chronicles* are actually the beginning of *Ezra*. Having the glorification of David in mind, Ezra left out everything which could be detrimental to his memory. In this way Abravanel solves the difficulties of repetitions or omissions in *Chronicles* compared with *Samuel*. (Preface to *Samuel*, 47a. r./l.)

² *Ibid.*

book of *Psalms* in lonely old age he made several changes in the wording in order to make it more intelligible to the lonely soul in prayer. Moreover, apart from his desire to make an originally intimate dialogue accessible to the understanding of the community, literary and stylistic considerations prompted him to improve the expression in accord with poetic custom.¹ Abravanel ranks Jeremiah next to Moses, the unsurpassed prophet, as regards perfection of Imagination, but he is aware of his stylistic shortcomings. These he tries to explain by pointing out that Jeremiah had to enter upon his prophetic career when still young. He had not yet mastered the language, the right arrangement of words, the beauty of metaphor (this is hardly justified!), therefore he rightly said: *Ah Lord God, behold, I cannot speak: for I (am) a child.* Isaiah was of royal blood, enjoyed an excellent education at Court, and therefore knew how to write beautifully. The other prophets prophesied in mature age, experienced in the affairs of the world, whereas Jeremiah, descended from the priests of Anathoth, a small provincial place, could only use a language corresponding to the stage he had reached when he was commanded to prophesy.² In this connection we must mention Abravanel's attempt to explain the divergence between the same stories told in *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. He distinguishes between the

¹ Comment on II. *Samuel* xxii, p. 100a. r./l. He thus explains the change of the second *kaf* (*Sam.* v, 1) into *yad* in the psalm, repeating this process systematically for all the variants. Another example of his tendency to deal with a question in its proper place completely and systematically is served in his *Mashmi'a y'shu'ah* when he comments on *Obadiah*. As this book deals exclusively with Edom, Abravanel discusses here all prophecies directed against Edom collected from the other prophets under the following aspects: to whom, to what event, and to what date do they refer, did they come true or have they still to come true. This is of greatest importance for their bearing on the coming of the Messiah (58b. l.).

² Comm. on *Jeremiah* in: *Comm. on Later Prophets*, Amsterdam, 1641, p. 96a. r./l. The phrase: *thus far (are) the words of Jeremiah* at the end of ch. li. suggests to Abravanel that Jeremiah could neither have written the last chapter in his book nor in *Kings*. Ezra or the "Men of the great Assembly" transferred the last chapter of *Kings* to the end of *Jeremiah* when they collected the books and arranged the Canon for two reasons. (1) The reader thus knew that Jeremiah's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem had come true and (2) to link it up with the book of *Ezekiel* (Introd. to *Comm. on Early Prophets*, 3a. l./b. r.).

historical and the prophetic treatment of these stories, corresponding to their respective purpose and context. Thus, Jeremiah narrates in *Kings* the story of Hezekiah as part of the history of his reign, whilst Isaiah told it under the aspect of prophecy. Or a story is used as a sort of historical background and as a verification of a particular prophecy. The prophets used the *Chronicles of the kings of Judah* which were written down simultaneously with the events, but for their own purposes.¹

Illustrations by means of comparison between Jewish, Roman or contemporary institutions and offices, and a keen political sense enrich Abravanel's exposition of details, such as his remark on 1. *Kings* iii, 1 ff. that Solomon married the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh, not because he loved her and was enamoured by her beauty, but for political reasons. It was advisable to gain peace with and the friendship of a great power by such a dynastic marriage.² How contemporary events occupied his mind and directed his thought is evident from remarks and comments in his Commentary on *Daniel* (*Ma'y'ne hay-y'shu'ah*) and in his two other Messianic treatises (*Y'shu'oth M'shiho* and *Mashmi'a y'shu'ah*). The meaning and first aim of the visions of Daniel is to encourage, by the parable of the four empires which will be destroyed, the people of Israel to return in repentance to God and to obey Him. That this is addressed to his own generation is evident from the comment on Daniel's character: *and we learnt also (a lesson) for the affairs of the nation in Exile that it is fitting to act like Daniel in holiness and segregation, in seeking (the company) of the wise, in meditation on the Torah and in true and loyal service of*

¹ As note 2, p. 463.

² Comm. on *Kings*, 10b. 1. The Commentaries on *Deuteronomy*, *Samuel*, *Kings* and *Daniel* contain much material for Abravanel's political thought together with theoretical statements on political philosophy in his Comm. on Maimonides' *More*, e.g. I hope to deal with this problem in full in the monograph, with special regard to the question in how far Abravanel's own political experience led him to accept or reject the current theory, influenced by Plato. He draws a parallel between the recorder in 1. *Kings* iv, 11 ff., and the Roman *procurator fiscalis* or between the *king's friend* and the *major domus* (*loc. cit.*, 17b. r.). The life at Solomon's Court is illustrated by references to Court officials and practices in contemporary Spain and France.

kings.¹ Interesting is his interpretation of the sufferings of the Marranos and of contemporary history: *that in the midst of all the anguish and persecutions many of our nation leave the religious community and this is heresy, for through the wickedness of the (Christian) nations hundreds of thousands of Jews have forcibly left the Lord . . . "until all kingdoms are changed to heresy"* shows that this refers to all nations in general or to the wicked in particular, be it to Rome where our own eyes see in the kingdom of Spain that heretics increase and where they burn them because of their heresy 'in thousands and myriads'. Also all the priests and bishops of Rome in this time run after profit, accept bribes and do not care for their religion, for heresy shines out on their forehead. . . .² He saw in those happenings clear signs of the times, indicating the birthpangs of the Messiah, for he lived in the expectancy of the Messiah, of the end of the Exile and of the promised Redemption (*G'ulah*). The prophecy of Daniel was about to come true. Rome, the fourth empire, was in a state of sinful corruption the end of which was death and destruction, and the fifth empire, that of the king Messiah would then dawn upon mankind and bring Redemption to the righteous of the Jews and all nations. Therefore Daniel is set as an example to the Jews. As he was saved by God so Israel will witness Redemption if they but follow Daniel.³

Abravanel's Messianic treatises owe their origin to two reasons. The first practical reason was already stated: he wanted to encourage his fellow Jews by an appeal to be prepared, morally in the first place, for the imminent coming of the Messiah sent by God, who would deliver them from all their sufferings. The second reason is one of defending the current Jewish view on the Messiah against Dominican attacks, more satisfactorily than Nachmanides. Thus, the problems discussed in the *Y'shu'oth* and *Mashmi'a* correspond exactly to the questions in the Disputation of Barcelona. Moreover, Geronimo de Santa Fe had again tried in vain to prove from

¹ Comm. on *Dan.*, 25a. r. Another similar exhortation is on 38b. r.

² *Y'shu'oth M'shiho*, 21b. l./22a. r. and Comm. on *Dan.*, 87a. r./l. The standard work on the Marranos is: *History of the Marranos* by Dr. Cecil Roth, 1932.

³ As note 1 above.

Talmud and Midrash Christ's divinity and Messiahship and had afterwards repeated his claims and accusations in two treatises. This fact alone necessitated a competent Jewish reply. Abravanel polemises against Nachmanides who held that no Jew was obliged to believe in the *Haggadah* when Pablo Christiani quoted certain *haggadoth* which seemed to support the Christian claim. Abravanel investigates in systematic manner the whole haggadic material and seeks an answer to the controversial points raised in the Disputations.¹ He had to show that, apart from the Messianological passages in the Bible, there are in Talmud and Midrash unmistakable Messianic predictions which can claim an authority equal to the Biblical ones if they are correctly interpreted. In this attempt he marks a definite advance on his Jewish predecessors and with great exegetical skill he succeeds in vindicating the Jewish point of view. In addition, he rightly points out in his preface to the *Y^eshu'oth* that the commentators of the Talmud (as is known) do not comment on the *haggadoth* but are only engaged in the exposition of the *mišwoth* (Commandments) in making clear what is forbidden and what is allowed. This statement testifies to the tendency of these centuries when, under the influence of the French and German schools of Rabbis, study centred almost exclusively round the Talmud and the exposition of its *Halakhah*. Abravanel could claim to fill a real gap in contemporary Jewish literature.² All the haggadic evidence was collected and systematically sifted in respect of four questions. The first question, whether the Messiah had already come, or whether the appointed time for his coming was drawing near, shows how real such an investigation was at that time. The third question dealing with his nature (whether divine or as mere man, like one of us, or another separate intellect), and the fourth whether the Torah will be abrogated in its entirety or in parts when he comes,

¹ Abravanel admits that the Rabbis had no power to refute the Dominican claim freely. Therefore he interprets these *haggadoth*. The Rabbis would have exposed themselves and their communities to real danger had they done so.

² He mentions R. Solomon ben Abraham Adret (1235-1310) and R. Yedayah ha-Bedarsi (ca. 1270-ca. 1340) who began to deal with the *Haggadah*, but they had not treated the *haggadoth* he himself is going to interpret.

are both no less vital though of a more polemic nature.¹ Here Abravanel is forced to relinquish the literal meaning of the passages and to aver that the first rabbis spoke in riddles and similes in order to instruct us in the aim of the stories rather than in their verbal meaning.² In his *Mashmi'a* he naturally quotes the same passages as do his Jewish predecessors in their Messianic treatises.³ But his treatment singles him out by the completeness and systematic arrangement of the material which is discussed in the light of the four questions. His argument is broader, including frequent references to past and present history, especially that of ancient Rome, both heathen and Christian. He emphasizes again and again the epoch-making conversion of Constantine the Great, and—quite in keeping with the teaching of the mediæval Church—that Constantine had surrendered the rule over Rome to Pope Silvester. This agrees well with the interpretations of the prophecies against Edom and in particular of Daniel's fourth Empire (Rome = Edom). His knowledge of Roman history enabled him to give the prophetic and haggadic predictions a more concrete and therefore a more convincing interpretation.⁴

It still remains to show what sources he used. He himself cites only *The Chronicles of the Latins*, Josef ben Gorion and the Latin text of Flavius Josephus as furnishing some information. Though Abravanel distinguishes between the two he is inconsistent in his judgment, or rather condemnation, of Josephus.

¹ He refutes frequently the views of Nachmanides, and as far as he argues on philosophical grounds also Maimonides.

² Here he follows Maimonides (*More*, ii, ch. 47).

³ For a full treatment of Abravanel's Messianism see J. Sarachek : *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Mediæval Jewish Literature*, New York, 1932. This book makes it unnecessary for me to reproduce here a summary based on a careful study of the three Messianic treatises carried out before I had access to Sarachek's book. Unfortunately the development of thought and argument in the various authors is not worked out in the study nor is the influence of the earlier on the later writers clearly indicated by references so that a critical study of Abravanel's own contribution and his indebtedness to previous authors must be reserved for the monograph. As a basis Sarachek's book is very useful as regards the material. I regret that I could not use A. H. Silver's *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*, New York, 1927.

⁴ His acquaintance with Christian Dogma and doctrines can be seen from passages like 66a. l. and 75a. l. in his *Comm.* on *Daniel*.

Moreover, his historical sense, otherwise good, failed him in that he takes Josippon in most cases where he uses him as a historical source in the strict sense. He does so, however, with the critical reserve peculiar to him when statements found there do not tally with tradition or Latin histories.¹ His knowledge of Roman history, which filled him with admiration for that ancient Rome whose rule *is far above all other rule like Heaven is above Earth, in wisdom and bravery*,² he found particularly useful in interpreting Daniel's visions in keeping with the course of history. Contrary to Gersonides³ he identifies the *small horn* with the Pope. Papal rule began in Rome—after the destruction of Jerusalem—by a disciple of Jesus and it is called *small* because it was small at the beginning. In those days the emperor ruled over Rome and the Pope taught only the Christians there. Therefore Daniel says *among them* and not *after them*. This small horn survives the three earlier beasts and their empires! The fifth empire is that of the king Messiah—not of the Antichrist as the Christian interpreters, who identify him with the small horn, would have it. This period inaugurates the ultimate Redemption. This will not be followed by an Exile, for from now on Israel, which will not perish like the four empires, will serve God faithfully for ever.⁴ Abravanel made ample use, too, of his knowledge of

¹ Before basing an exposition of Abravanel's attitude to either of the two on passages like 65a. r./l., 75b. r. or 39b. in his Comm. on *Daniel*, and 40a. r. in his Comm. on *Kings*, I want to collect further evidence. For there is not only constant confusion between Josephus and Josef ben Gorion but a comparison between both, Abravanel and the relevant passages in *Chronicles*, e.g., involves text-critical problems as well.

² Comm. on *Dan.*, 42b. r. A similar statement (16a. r.) is made to prove the identity of Rome and Edom, i.e. that Rome not only rules all nations politically but, through the Pope, also their beliefs.

³ Who identified the small horn with Constantine. Abravanel states the impossibility by asserting that this was one of the greatest Roman emperors. Abravanel was familiar with the history of Rome under the consuls and Caesars before Christ and after and with the persecutions of the Christians (see *loc. cit.*, 43a. r./44a. r.).

⁴ Again Gersonides is censured with amazement that he identified the *son of man* with the king Messiah and the *Ancient of days* with either the Roman Senate or the Pope: *This is mere fancy and the truth is that God alone is the agent of Israel's Redemption.*

Persian history, both before and after Alexander the Great, and of that of the Diadochoi. Thus he attacks Gersonides, who finds his explanation of the *he goat* in Alexander's illegitimate birth. Abravanel, thanks to his better knowledge of history, sees in that term a reference to the relative unimportance and insignificance of Macedonia in its early stages.¹ A large part of this Commentary consists of a critical analysis of the views of his predecessors, both Jewish and Christian. Of special importance in this respect is Abraham bar Chiyya (1065-1136) whom he quotes frequently and to whom he is indebted, like his predecessors, for his astronomical or rather astrological knowledge. He does not hesitate to disagree with his source if his own judgment leads him to other conclusions. Yet he borrows completely bar Chiyya's conception and construction of Jewish history in accordance with the course of the planets and follows the parallelism between the periods of World history and the six days of Creation.² The agreement between Scripture and astronomy, respecting the termination of the Exile, is clear evidence to Abravanel of the truth of Scripture, and of the right to use astronomy to this end. Turning to his criticism of the Christian exegesis given in special chapters Abravanel polemises in particular against Porphyry, who interpreted the *small horn*³ and other prophecies as pointing to Antiochos Epiphanes and the Maccabees. Nicholas of Lyra, counted first among the Christian commentators, is followed where he agrees with Jewish tradition and not with Latin, but Abravanel criticizes his chronology.⁴ He censures the Church's method of referring all good predictions to the Christians and all bad ones to the Jews.⁵ Paul of Burgos with his master Raimund di Martini are refuted and charged with an interpretation of the stories not according to their proper meaning but according to what they wanted them to mean!⁶

Abravanel's own exposition must be reserved for a more

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 41a. r. and 53a. r./54b. l.

² See *Sefer megillath ham-megalleh*, ed. Guttmann-Poznanski, Berlin, 1924.

³ See n. 1 above. Albo and others are likewise blamed for referring Daniel's visions to the second Temple.

⁴ Comm. on *Dan.*, 66a. r.; b. l.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, 75a. r.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, 67a. l.

comprehensive treatment of the subject, but it is characteristic and important for his thought that he counted Daniel among the *prophets*. In opposition to Maimonides and other Jewish authorities he proves that the visions bear all the criteria of true prophecy.¹ Thus Daniel—together with the other prophets—supplied him with valuable additional proof for the future Redemption. Taking the visions as predicting future events, he could make the prophecy of the four empires the backbone of his interpretation. The fall of the fourth, accompanied by strange and terrible happenings, would illustrate one of the pillars of the advent of the Messianic age, God's vengeance upon Israel's enemies. Necessarily connected with that age is also Resurrection.²

He expresses a confident hope and firm belief in the approaching salvation of his people and all the righteous on earth in these words: *the rod has blossomed, a staff has risen in Israel, the time of the nightingale has come. A vine is before my eyes as if in bloom. Therefore I say, our salvation has drawn near . . . and even if many troubles meet us, they are the birthpangs of the Messiah; this is a time of anguish for Jacob but there will be a saviour and the kingdom will be unto God; His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and His rule from generation to generation.*³ Because he saw many despair of the coming of the Messiah he wanted to prove it from the plain straightforward meaning of Scripture. He addresses the *Apikorsim* in the first place,⁴ i.e.

¹ Abravanel finds support for his view in the *Seder 'Olam* (as well as in the Christian Church). His proof occupies many pages (16b, l./20a. r. and *pass.*). Most of the argument forms a refutation of Maimonides' theory of prophecy. Abravanel distinguishes between prophetic and natural dream and thus refutes Maimonides' view of a common source for prophecy and dream and shows that Maimonides wrongly quotes Aristotle in favour of his view. Anticipating the few remarks made on that question later on in this paper it must be noted that Abravanel takes up this point again and again throughout his commentaries (e.g. in defending Solomon against Maimonides who would deny him prophetic visions, see *Comm. on Kings*, 11 l.). Abravanel takes the traditional, conservative view of the miraculous supranatural character of prophecy against the psychological view of Maimonides who explains prophecy as a natural phenomenon (see Abravanel's *Comm. on More*, II, chs. 32-7 in particular).

² Following Maimonides who held that these passages were the clearest of all in Scripture on Resurrection.

³ *Mashmi'a y'shu'ah*, 2a. r./3a. l.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 83a. l.

here those who disregarded with scorn and contempt the predictions of Scripture. He therefore collected only unmistakable evidence and left out the Hagiographa, the plain literal meaning of which did not necessarily yield Messianic material. Daniel is the most important of the 17 *announcers of good tidings*; Zechariah is the most convincing of the Minor Prophets, and from Isaiah he derives 14 principles by which he inquires into the prophecies of Redemption in all the prophets. The Pentateuch is naturally also included. Next to his primary aim, just discussed, Abravanel wishes to prove convincingly that none of these prophecies refer to the return from the first Exile, the building of the second Temple and the second Commonwealth, but clearly and exclusively to the final Redemption *at the end of days*. They can also not be interpreted in the way of the Christian commentators. He sets the concrete, literal meaning against the Christian claim that the real meaning is the spiritual Redemption, the salvation of the soul effected by Christ's martyrdom and death. Abravanel insists on the actual Redemption in flesh as well as in spirit. (Therefore he stresses Divine vengeance, resurrection and ingathering of the exiles almost coinciding with it.) If the Christians referred the term *Edom* to the Children of Israel because of their sins, they overlooked the fact that immediately following the prediction of vengeance upon Edom is given consolation and comfort for Israel.¹ Here we meet again Abravanel's insistence on the unity of Scripture as a whole, including its single passages. Jesus, for him, is not the promised king Messiah of Davidic origin,² nor has he fulfilled the prophecy that after the Redemption most of the nations will turn to the one true God, acknowledge and worship Him and study His Law. For history shows that only a part of the world—chiefly coerced by Constantine—embraced Christianity, whilst more than half of the inhabited Earth is in the hands of the Muslims. The disunion among the Jews in the Second Commonwealth excludes the reference of this prophecy to the Second Temple.³

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 30b. l.

² *Loc. cit.*, 31b. r./l. He points out—in reference to Matthew i—that in the time of the second Temple husband and wife need no longer be of the same tribe as there was no longer a division of the land.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 32a. r.

V.

Apart from the pedagogic and apologetic-polemic significance of these Messianic treatises, they throw light on the personality of their author and his attitude to Judaism. How is it possible, we may ask, that such an eminent statesman, such a successful political negotiator had no constructive policy in mind to better the lot of the Jews in his day? Why did he not try to organize a well-ordered exodus from Spain and keep the exiles together and settle them, or at least part of them, in Palestine or the neighbouring countries? Such an idea never entered his mind. A clue to the reason may be seen, perhaps, in Abravanel's denial of the opinion of the sages that Daniel went up to Jerusalem.¹ His explanation is that Daniel did not wish to go to Jerusalem because the Exile was so long and Redemption so very far off. Zerubbabel also returned to Babel from Jerusalem, for which he constantly prayed as well as for Redemption. Exactly the same attitude we find with Abravanel. He was, as we have seen, so convinced of the approaching end of the Exile, and was so certain about God's own deliverance by sending the promised Messiah, that the only thing for the Jews to do was to suffer patiently under foreign rule and oppression and to return to God before He would restore them to their own country. Suffering is God's punishment for their sins. If they repent and reform their ways God in His infinite mercy will deliver them. For, and here we reach the ideological structure the practical outcome of which is this in the political sense passive attitude, Israel is guided by God's particular Providence. God will never abandon His chosen people. He is the God of all the Earth and His Providence watches over all mankind, but only in a general way. Israel, He has chosen among all nations, not to grant her privileges but to serve His Supreme will, embodied in the Torah. If history is the manifestation of God's will and rule, Israel's history is the reaction to this Divine will. It is well with Israel when she obeys God; if she rebels by serving strange gods, He who by covenant has chosen her will also

¹ Based on Josippon, Book I, ch. iii, who lets Daniel die in Susan (see *Comm. on Dan.*, 68a. r.).

punish her. But as Jacob is His first born son, He will again and again show mercy upon the repentant Israel. This idea is common to Judaism throughout the Middle Ages, based upon the prophets and the later sages. Abravanel seems to be indebted to Yehudah Hallewi's (1080-1141) *Kusari* for the shaping of his thought of God's particular Providence.¹ His wide though perhaps superficial knowledge of ancient history confirmed his belief in this Divine Providence, for he saw that the might of Rome, the beauty of Greece, the powers of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia had all flourished and perished. Israel alone among these ancient nations had survived, without political organization, without a land, scattered among the nations to testify—not least in her sufferings at their hands—to the will of God, to His might and glory, which will restore her in the days of the Messiah to her land.² In this way Abravanel interpreted his own times, like all Jewish thinkers who saw in the continuity of Jewish history the manifestation of a Divine plan and who attributed the Jews' suffering, in the first place, to their own shortcomings, and to the neglect of God's positive commandments. Hence his exposition of the Bible, hence his Messianism, which seems so theoretical because it is propounded with so much learning. Nations perished because they were guided by their own laws and customs (through which alone, to his mind, they are distinguished from each other). Israel survived because she still upheld *Torath haShem*, the Law of (the one) God. Every nation has its heavenly prince and star to guide its destinies, and heavenly bodies determine their movements and actions. But Israel is singled out, since her guide is God alone. The body of Israel is like that of all other nations, but in her soul she is distinct from them, for Israel stands under God, the other nations under the heavenly bodies although naturally with the consent and

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 24b. r. Yehudah Hallewi and Abraham bar Chiyya must be considered as likely sources for Abravanel's conception of Jewish history in general.

² Abravanel is completely in accord with Maimonides, who at the end of the *Hilkhoth m'lakhim* in his *Mishne Torah*—quoted by him—describes the Messianic kingdom as a real earthly kingdom, invested with all the political power necessary to guarantee a reign of peace and justice for all mankind.

knowledge of God. They depend on the natural order, but Israel depends exclusively on God, who may, by His special Providence, do good or evil to Israel according as she deserves. In other words, God can hinder the action of this heavenly agent or can add to it at times. Israel is thus governed by a miraculous order superior to, and independent of, nature. Whether God annuls planetary constellations in the case of Israel depends on how she fulfils the Torah and its commandments.¹ Abravanel cherished the same faith and belief as every Jew of his age. But whereas the masses did so in a naïve, none the less, strong and sincere, belief, strengthened by the hope of seeing with their own eyes the promised Redemption and thus being visibly recompensed for their sufferings, Abravanel had arrived by his study at an almost scientific corroboration and justification of that faith innate in every Jew. It was the same during the Crusades with the French and German Jewries.

VI.

No account of Abravanel would be complete without at least touching upon his attitude to Maimonides. In all questions of principle, of fundamental teachings in Judaism, Abravanel is indebted to Maimonides, even where he differs from him. Whenever Maimonides' views can be harmonized with the plain meaning of Scripture and with the sayings of the Talmudic sages, Abravanel follows *the master, the great teacher*. Only if this is impossible does he deviate from him. In his treatise *Rosh Amanah* Abravanel defends Maimonides' thirteen articles against Albo and Crescas (1340-1410), although he holds the reasonable view with regard to dogma that in the face of the equal importance of every precept of the Torah and of the equal authority of its teachings no precedence or preference should be given to particular principles. This attitude is well in accord with Abravanel's view of the unity of Scripture, repeatedly stated.

There are, however, three questions of particular importance in which he strongly opposes Maimonides: prophecy, the

¹ Comm. on *Dan.*, 83a. r. and esp. 88a. r./90b. r. See also n. 1, p. 473.

interpretation of the Creation story and that of Ezekiel's vision of the Heavenly Chariot. Abravanel holds that the vision of the Chariot has nothing to do with the natural or metaphysical sciences, as Maimonides and his followers claim, but it is, by its position of preceding the prophet's warning of punishment by Exile, part of that matter. The vision points to the same four world empires as Daniel's four beasts.¹ Abravanel is convinced that Maimonides himself felt the difficulty of his explanation, but that he relied on his own mind and rational investigation. Instructive for Abravanel's attitude is his remark that he who is not convinced of the *Creatio ex nihilo* by (philosophical) proof should accept it by way of tradition from the prophets. *There is no harm in this.*² In sharpest contrast to Maimonides is Abravanel's traditional view of prophecy and its origin. A few words at least must be said on this point. Maimonides sees in prophecy a natural phenomenon, open to every person endowed with perfect imagination and perfect intellect. God lets emanate the active intellect on to the rational and imaginative faculties alike and thus makes man a prophet.³ He differs from Alfarabi only in that God can withhold the gift of prophecy, especially if preparation for it is lacking in the person naturally destined for it. Abravanel dismisses the psychological explanation of prophecy and makes God the sole active force in endowing man with the gift of prophecy, contrary to Maimonides' negative power of withholding. By pointing to Amos, Abravanel denies that intellectual preparation is necessary. If prophecy were a natural phenomenon why is it only to be found in Israel and why were not the great philosophers, so perfect in virtues and thoughts, worthy of being prophets? ⁴ He also makes due allowance for the miraculous element, as e.g. when he insists,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 15a. r. Abravanel marshals 28 objections against Maimonides' interpretation at the end of his Comm. on the *More*, 71b. ff. (ed. Warsaw).

² *Loc. cit.*, 73b. to the end. Abravanel explains that Maimonides could not deal in his *More* with the principles of the *Coming of the Messiah* and the *Resurrection* as they belong to the category of *Reward and Punishment* and are thus included in the principle of *Providence*. As they are, moreover, derived from tradition (*Qabbalah*) they cannot be expounded by metaphysical investigation (*Iyyun*). For this reason Maimonides expounded them in his letters.

³ *More*, II, ch. 37.

⁴ Abravanel's Comm. to *loc. cit.*, 79 ff.

against Maimonides and Nachmanides, on the whole nation having seen God at Sinai, listened to His voice and heard as well as understood all the Ten Commandments. He quotes Ibn Ezra in his support.¹

These few examples show that there is a divergence in principle which is partly at least due to the developments which took place in Judaism following upon Maimonides. In the deplorable fight between Maimunists and Antimaimunists Abravanel occupies a middle position. He admires the work of Maimonides and acknowledges his indebtedness to him on almost every page and refrains from decrying the pursuit of philosophy and secular sciences as the Antimaimunists did. But he does not consider philosophy, as rational speculation, an equal partner to the Torah and Rabbinic tradition. He makes use of a philosophical argument if it helps to support tradition, to bring out the real, plain meaning of Scripture. He does not belittle human reason, yet he does not allow it free play to get the upper hand. Maimonides assigned an important place to moral virtues and insisted on the performance of the Commandments as a means to moral perfection, but maintained that the highest good and ultimate happiness and perfection consisted in the true perception of God leading to an imitation of His ways, thus again resulting in action. He allowed Reason to interpret Scripture according to rational standards (sometimes clearly ruling out the original, literal meaning). Abravanel makes such a concession only in so far as Reason can support tradition, with Scripture as the unique basis. This is not the place to argue whether the observance of the Commandments is of equal importance with or even superior to a rational perception of God. But the statement that although the intellect and imagination of the prophet must be sound, it is his moral perfection and his freedom from the defects of his animal desires which make him fit for prophecy,² rather points in that direction. Abravanel likes to style himself

¹ See n. 1, p. 470, and n. 1, second half, p. 457.

² See n. 4, p. 475, 6th premise. This is directed against Muhammad, with his excessive lust. Is Abravanel here making a concession to Maimonides by admitting preparation, even if it be moral and not intellectual?

and those who sympathise with him in their interpretation of Scripture as *the true representatives of Torah* or as *the community of the believers*¹ against the philosophers. He goes even so far as to despise those, like Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, Gersonides, etc., who tried to harmonize the words of the sages with the views of Aristotle and his disciples and their sophistry, *for I know that the way of the sages of Israel in their wisdom received by tradition is as far removed from the ways of the philosophers in their speculations and thoughts as East is from West.*² Nevertheless he did not hesitate to accept individual interpretations of these very men he had so violently denounced—if they were in accord with tradition! He can say of Maimonides that his interpretation of prophecy is as far above his own—which agrees with tradition—as Heaven is above Earth,³ and accept with praises his interpretation of the meaning and character of the sacrifices.⁴ This is not lack of sincerity or truthfulness on his part, but rather the outcome of his empiric nature and of his search for truth where it may be found. It would be wrong to set off one statement against another contradictory one, for, seen in the whole of his work and of his personality, they form nevertheless a unity. For an unswerving faith and a sincere loyalty bind these seemingly divergent statements and moods together. The man who stands in the middle between those who merely accepted and handed on established tradition and those who claimed the right to examine tradition with autonomous human reason is by no means a mediocrity. A man of wide learning, he has incorporated in his mind the conflicting tendencies of his day. He is at home in tradition as well as in philosophy and history, and makes use of all his tools in a manner appropriate to the task of the moment. He is the last representative of the mediæval epoch and at the same time the first Jew to apply a scientific method to the interpretation of the teachings of Judaism. He is a moderate conservative eager to maintain the *status quo* in Judaism. To this end he not only sums up in a final form what previous generations but, taught in method and exposition, adds something of his own. Granted that

¹ As note 2, p. 476.

³ As note 2, p. 476.

² *Y'shu'oth M'shiho*, preface, 9b. l.

⁴ *Introd. to Comm. on Leviticus.*

Abravanel as a commentator is indebted to the exegesis prior to his day in many points of detail, even in method perhaps, there remains nevertheless an outstanding contribution to Biblical exegesis as a science. He was, indeed, the first to understand and practice exegesis as such. He tried to understand men and their intentions by making due allowance for their character, position and milieu. Systematic treatment, sound criticism of his predecessors, independent mastery of the accumulated knowledge, a scholarly enthusiasm to clear away doubts and to see and solve real difficulties, the desire to understand the Bible as a whole and to bring out the real meaning of its several books in their true historic setting, are qualities all peculiar to himself. This is mainly the result of his practical experience as a statesman and diplomat who witnessed important developments in Spanish and Jewish history. Knowledge thus gained he threw back to the past history of his people, which he saw, partly at least, in the light of the history of the world powers. The occasional references in the Bible saw in the world powers instruments of God's will in His plans with Israel. In addition to that Abravanel learnt to understand and judge the nations by their own standards as he saw them through the chronicles of the Latins. With a great love for his people, whom he tried to serve all his life, especially by expounding to them their spiritual heritage, he combined the humanist's admiration for the Classics and foreshadowed in important beginnings the scholarship of the Renaissance. All students of the Bible are thus indebted to him for his courageous attempt to apply a strictly scientific method to the interpretation of the Old Testament, to bring out its plain, clear meaning, and to realize and to solve its difficulties. Our difficulties in respect of the Bible are other and so are our methods of removing them, yet our approach should still be that of Abravanel: the will to understand and to live its message of beauty and truth, and to see in it a great record of what the right relations should be between man and God and man and his fellow.

NOTES ON SOME ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

I. AVERROES' MIDDLE COMMENTARY ON ARISTOTLE'S *Analytica Priora et Posteriora*.

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TO the list of extant manuscripts of Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Organon* in the Arabic original, given by P. M. Bouyges in his *Notes sur les philosophes Arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age. V. Inventaire des textes arabes d'Averroès*,¹ must now be added MS. Ar. 374 in the John Rylands Library.

According to Dr. Mingana's *Catalogue*,² this anonymous MS. contains part of a Commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora* and a complete Commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora*. Whereas the author of the former "is to be presumed that he was Alfarabi" and the lack of the first page (or pages) is recorded, Dr. Mingana states that ff. 36-95 "contain Farabi's Commentary, etc.," thus accepting Alfarabi's authorship for certain. This has led to an inquiry addressed to the Librarian, whether certain quotations in Albertus Magnus' *Analytica Posteriora* in the name of Alfarabi could be verified from the MS.

In my attempt to answer this inquiry a close resemblance between our MS. and Albertus Magnus could be noted but no exact agreement. Leaving aside the question of the relation between Albertus and Alfarabi and the possible transmission

¹ In *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth*, Tom. VIII, fasc. 1, 1922, p. 10 ff.

² Dr. A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1934, 608 ff.

from Alfarabi to Albertus, I tried to identify our MS. and a comparison with Averroes' Commentary on both Analytics in the Latin Aristotle¹ convinced me that our MS. 374 is a Middle Commentary (*Talhis*) on both Analytics by Averroes. It is the smallest fragment of his Commentary on Aristotle's *Organon* hitherto known. The Latin version, discernible from the *Long* Commentary by numbers prefixed in the margin, corresponds exactly to the Arabic. Though I was unable to compare the MS. with the detailed description F. Lasinio gives of the complete MS. of Averroes' Middle Commentary on the *Organon* in the *Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana*,² a comparison with a Hebrew translation of Averroes' Middle Commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora* preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. Hunt 419, Cat. N. 1356)³ of the beginnings and endings of its two treatises confirmed the evidence supplied by a close examination of the Latin version. Moreover, a comparison between the end of Averroes' Middle Commentary on the *Analytica Priora* (on the same page as the beginning of that on the *Analytica Posteriora*) and the end of Alfarabi's Commentary (f. 21a in the Bodleian MS. just mentioned which does not contain Averroes' Commentary on the *Analytica Priora*, which, however, is extant in a Hebrew MS. at Merton College, Oxford) yielded additional proof that Alfarabi could not be the author of the Rylands MS.

As the Commentary on the *Analytica Priora* is incomplete, the beginning of the fragment could be ascertained only by a word by word comparison with the Latin version, starting from the end and going backwards. Thus, f. 36a corresponds to p. 177 in the Latin Aristotle. F. 1 of the fragment corresponds to l. 3 on p. 146b in the Latin, beginning with *monstratio circularis*. That this treatise is really Averroes' Middle Commentary is clear beyond any doubt from a reference to Abu Nazr (Alfarabi) (last line of f. 1a, l. 25, p. 146b), whose opinion is quoted and

¹ *Aristotelis Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1560, Tom. I.

² F. Lasinio, *Il Commento medio di Averroe alla Poetica di Aristotele*. Pisa, 1872, *Notizia*.

³ I am indebted to Mr. M. Lutzki of the Department of Hebrew MSS., Bodleian Library, for his excerpts of several passages which enabled me to arrive at my conclusions.

opposed.¹ Our fragment thus begins in the middle of the fifth chapter of the first part of Book II.

It may not be out of place to add a few remarks about the necessity to assess the actual relation between Alfarabi and Averroes in the sphere of Logic. Such a study, which the present writer hopes to take up as soon as his edition of Averroes' Paraphrase on Plato's "Politeia," which has been overdue for a long time, is completed, will not only throw light on Averroes' own contribution, his relation to his Islamic predecessors (Alfarabi, Ibn Bajja and Ibn Sina) and to Aristotle himself, but will fill a serious gap in the literature on Alfarabi, whose great significance for all subsequent Muslim philosophy has lately been frequently asserted by different authors.² But a detailed study making use of all available source material in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin is still wanting, despite two recent publications by I. Madkour.³ His interesting and stimulating study on the *Organon* deals with our problem on pp. 140-155 in particular, but Alfarabi's dominating influence is not sufficiently brought out. Madkour concentrates on Ibn Sina (Avicenna) because of the fragmentary character of Alfarabi's logical writings (*loc. cit.*, pp. 9-10), and in his monograph on Alfarabi he also omits a detailed discussion of Alfarabi as a logician, adding to the reason already mentioned, the other that Alfarabi does not offer a doctrine of his own but just reproduces Aristotle (*La place d'Alfarabi*, etc., p. 10). Such a statement needs substantiation. Difficult as the task of building up Alfarabi's logical doctrine undoubtedly is, we must nevertheless try in patient and painstaking labour to collect all possible information and reconstruct

¹ As far as I am aware it is unusual in *Middle Commentaries* to quote and discuss preceding views, as is the case here. Cp. M. Steinschneider's *Alfarabi*, St. Petersburg, 1869, who could *bei flüchtigem Blättern* not find any reference to Alfarabi in Averroes' Middle Commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora* (44).

² See P. Kraus' *Abstracta Islamica*, II: Philosophie et Kalâm in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1935, *Cahier IV*, pp. 215-238, for an excellent critical summary of recent literature, especially of the studies of L. Strauss, I. Madkour and the present writer, to which should now be added the latter's *Politische Gedanken bei Ibn Bāğğā* in *MGWJ*, 1937, 3: Heft.

³ Ibrahim Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde Arabe*, Paris, 1934 (and review by Kraus, *loc. cit.* 219 f.); and *La place d'Alfarabi dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris, 1934 (and Kraus, pp. 226 f.).

Alfarabi's thought. Here, as always, Steinschneider shows us the way.¹ Apart from Alfarabi's own Commentary on the *Analytica Priora*,² we have references to his views on Logic in his successors among the Falasifa. Especially Averroes devotes an extensive polemic to Alfarabi in his *Long Commentary on the Organon* (in general and both Analytics in particular), based on a better understanding of Aristotle. There are also Maimonides³ with his treatise on logic and other Jewish writers on the subject, and especially Albertus Magnus,⁴ as the passages quoted in Prantl alone abundantly prove.

Important material is contained in Alfarabi's other treatises, notably in his political treatise *k. tahṣil al-sa'ada*. How important the study of the logical sciences is for political science and practically for the philosopher-king as well as for the guardians, based on Plato's "Politeia," and most likely influenced by Alfarabi, can best be seen in Averroes' Paraphrase on the "Politeia."⁵ Here Averroes discusses the indispensable value of logic for the education of the future statesman and insists on

¹ In his *Alfarabi*, see above. On p. 17 he speaks of Alfarabi as *model* for Averroes; on p. 30, of the possible influence of Alfarabi's *Compendium* on Aristotle's *Syllogism* (*Analytica Priora*, Arabic, *k. al-qiyas*, Hebrew: *sefer ha-Heqqesh*) on Averroes, as well as on pp. 46 ff. in his *Hebr. Uebers.*, § 15, IV. The whole section in his *Alfarabi*, pp. 23-53, is to be consulted; for the relation between Alfarabi and Averroes cp. pp. 40-43.

² Cp. Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30 f., and *MS. Bodleian*, mentioned above, p. 2, containing the *Compendium* Alfarabis. See also previous note.

³ Cp. Steinschneider, *Alfarabi*, pp. 31 ff., with an extensive quotation from Alfarabi's *Long Commentary*, thus allowing for a comparison between the three forms of Commentaries of both authors. Madkour does not seem to have given sufficient attention to Steinschneider nor to Prantl. Whether his concentration on Ibn Sina is justifiable cannot be decided at the moment. The present writer hopes to come back to this question in his intended study on the relation between Alfarabi and Averroes with regard to their Comments on both Analytics. Madkour mentions himself, on p. 12 of his work on the *Organon*, that Ibn Sina's classification of the *Organon* goes back to Alfarabi. Averroes' elaborate critical discussion of Alfarabi's views, quite apart from Ibn Bajja and Ibn Sina, shows that this influence is not confined to terminology. This can be seen from Madkour's own treatment of Alfarabi's theory of ideas (cp. also Kraus' review, *loc. cit.*, on this point).

⁴ C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, *passim*, especially Band II, Leipzig, 1861, XVI, pp. 301-318, and Steinschneider's arguments in his *Alfarabi*, pp. 38 ff., against pseudo Averroes for genuine Averroes.

⁵ I am dealing with this question in my forthcoming edition of Averroes' *Paraphrase*, with special regard to Alfarabi's *k. tahṣil al-sa'ada*.

beginning with logic, possible since Aristotle has created logical science, and not with mathematics, with which Plato naturally begins the course of study. For Averroes mathematics, thanks to Aristotle's Logic, now take second place.

This being the case we may hope, by combining Alfarabi's own writings, scanty as they may be, with statements of his views by his successors, especially Averroes and the Scholastics, used with caution and critique, to arrive at a fair presentation of Alfarabi's contribution to the spreading of Aristotle's logical doctrine, with modifications in the course of increased criticism among the Falasifa, to Scholasticism. The Hebrew super-commentaries on Averroes contain additional material, therefore we shall be able to understand Averroes better, and we may, perhaps, have to distribute the balance in the history of the *Organon* a little different from Madkour with his emphasis on Ibn Sina.



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